# DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 156 991 CG 012 706

AUTHOR Suelzle, Marijean; And Others
TITLE Early Childhood Socialization in Great Britain: Bradford Field Study Program.
SPONS AGENCY Northwestern Univ., Evanston, Ill.
PUB DATE 77
NOTE 598p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$1.16 HC-$31.47 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Classroom Environment; Early Childhood Education; *Early Experience; *Educational Philosophy; *Elementary Education; Foreign Countries; *Preschool Education; Social Development; *Socialization; State of the Art Reviews
IDENTIFIERS *Great Britain

ABSTRACT

This compilation of 19 research papers based upon eight weeks of participant observation in 11 different nursery, infant, and junior schools during summer, 1977, is divided into four sections. The urban, suburban and village schools all utilized an informal classroom approach. A total of five authors describe the role of structure, free choice, and group activities; compare goals with practice; examine philosophy in terms of developmentally disabled children; provide an integrated day classroom case study; and compare informality in infant and junior classes. Other authors examine transmission of basic skills; creative expression; remedial reading programs; mathematics; and deaf education. In another section, six authors describe how classroom environment affects children's social participation; how differences emerge from cultural expectations based on sex roles; how teachers and peers influence maladjusted or withdrawn children; how teachers define expectations through discipline and reinforcement; how children's culture is transmitted through folklore; and how relationships are altered in mixed race adoptions. A group of three authors provide a historical perspective on the relationship between social change, social policy, conceptions of family and status of women, and educational provisions; present a case study of types of parent involvement in primary school; and present a study of a playgroup in a shelter for battered women and their children. (Author)

***********************************************************************
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
***********************************************************************

ED156991

# EARLY CHILDHOOD SOCIALIZATION IN GREAT BRITAIN:

## Bradford Field Study Program

Director: Marijean Suelzle
Assistant Professor
Department of Sociology and
Center for Urban Affairs

Graduate Assistants:
Frank Pasquale, Department of Anthropology
Laura Lamson, Department of Psychology
Karen Ribler, Department of Sociology

Administrative:
Mitchell Horwich, Department of Sociology

Sponsored by:
College of Community Studies
Northwestern University
2303 Sheridan Road
Evanston, Illinois
60201

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
M. Suelzle
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

Summer, 1977

CG 012706

# EARLY CHILDHOOD SOCIALIZATION IN GREAT BRITAIN:
Bradford Field Study Program
Marijean Suelzle, Director
Summer 1977

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Introduction . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . v

Acknowledgments . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . xvii

I. Educational Philosophy . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1

Start with the child: The school and its structure
JANE ANTUNES . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 3

British infant schools: Making the ends meet the goals
KIM MEISEL . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 25

In theory and in practice: A study of the aims and practical implementation of the program at Springfield School
KATHRINE E. BLOOM . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 57

Queensway Junior Mixed and Infant School: A casestudy with description and analysis
MEGAN TSCHANEN-MORAN . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 85

Junior schools and infant schools: A comparative study
COLLEEN McDONALD . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 109

II. Learning and Teaching . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 135

A closer look at British philosophy: Reading, writing, and readiness interwoven
DIANA R. COHEN . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 137

Freedom in education and creative expression: A descriptive study
RACHEL HERR . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 165

Perspectives on dyslexia
VALERIE KARNY . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 191

The search for a solution: Practice makes perfect vs. practical makes purposeful
JANI LAZAROW . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 233

Some aspects of deaf education in Britain
BARBARA J. WRIGHT . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 273

continued

Page

III. Social Development . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 299

An ecological study of social participation and prosocial interaction
JANE C. WARNER . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 301

Sex-role socialization in a British infant school
DEBRA DODSON . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 323

An outlook on integration of "maladjusted" or "at risk" children
in the infants' school
SHEILA J. MOY . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 349

"Spare the rod, spoil the child" or "Toss the cane, trust the child"
RANDI ROBINSON . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 383

Folklore in an English infant school
JANICE SONKIN . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 437

Black? White? Brown?...And/or British? A case study of a
black adopted child in a white British family
CE COLE . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 465

IV. Social Policy . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 485

Issues in British nursery education: An historical perspective
MATTHEW KATZ . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 487

Parent participation at a primary (infant and junior) school
HOWARD RUBIN . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 523

Pre-school services in Britain: Ideology with a focus on the
compensatory education and availability--Leeds Women's
Aid Refuge
JENNIFER WALLACE . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 557

Cover sketch by Laura Lamson

with layout by Susan M. Vehlow

# Introduction

The nineteen papers presented in this volume are the final research papers written by upper division undergraduate students at Northwestern University who participated in an eight-week field study program, June 20-August 12, 1977, to study early childhood socialization in Great Britain. The program was sponsored by the College of Community Studies, established in 1972 with the express purpose of integrating academic coursework and community involvement. To accomplish this goal the College has made extensive use of field study programs wherein students engage in supervised placements and research efforts to collect original data bearing on concepts and theories taught in the classroom. Programs are implemented around urban-related themes in which there is substantial student and faculty interest.

Interest in a cross-cultural experience in Great Britain emerged from an on-going Field Study in Early Childhood Socialization program which I direct in the Evanston-Chicago area during the regular academic year. The Evanston-Chicago program involves students in studying the socialization of young children in group settings. Students participate as interns in child care programs and schools on a weekly basis, keep field research journals based on their experience as participant observers, integrate their own observations with major theoretical perspectives in a series of short research papers, and do a case study of the policy and administrative issues which affect the delivery of services in their placement. This approach naturally leads to consideration of alternatives to the socialization and education of young children which are and could be viable in the United States.

The British system of informal education in nursery-infant schools for three- to seven-year-olds is one place where such alternatives can be studied. From a theoretical point of view the emphasis on individualized, child-centered learning within the state system of public education is consistent with that of most American nursery schools and day care centers. On the other hand, it differs significantly from the predominant emphasis in the American public school system on administrative standardization and systematization through the prescribed syllabus and classroom tests. First-hand observation of differences in the personalities, behaviors and abilities of British children when contrasted to American children provides a starting point for evaluating the efficacy of the alternative approaches provided in the two countries. Evaluating alternatives need not involve accepting or rejecting one system vis-à-vis the other as generally "good" or "bad". Indeed, ideally evaluation will add to, broaden or increase perspectives and skills already held, rather than merely replace one set with another.

As a result of the field study experience, students are expected to become more active participants in their own educational and professional development. They are expected to begin to contribute to the development of knowledge through sharing their personal involvement and original analyses with the academic community. The present volume is one step in that process of contributing to our understanding of early childhood socialization.

Selection of the Research Site

The two major influences on the socialization of young children are the family and the educational/child care system. Since we were primarily concerned with the public socialization of children in group settings, rather than private socialization in individual families, study of informal education in nursery-infant schools was selected as the mechanism for examining early childhood socialization in Great Britain. Having made that decision, we were next confronted with the task of choosing an appropriate location where the program could be based. The criteria were established that the program: should be located in an urban area which would provide access to a variety of schools for student placements; should be in an area where the Local Educational Authority had a history of supporting the transition from traditional to the informal method of education; should not be in an area which had attracted professional visitors from the United States and other countries to the point where routinized access was provided through pre-arranged tours to model schools, i.e., the program should not be based in London; and should be in an area where the schools served families from a variety of cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds. After several months of correspondence with faculty at a variety of universitites all over Britain, the Bradford area was identified as meeting our criteria and the University of Bradford was willing to accommodate our program. Since it was partially selected because it is not a popularly known tourist area, a brief description is provided to place the observations in this volume in a meaningful cultural context.

Bradford (pop. 295,000) is situated in the metropolitan county of West Yorkshire, England, nine miles west of the city of Leeds, and approximately 200 miles north of London. Although its woollen industry was established before the middle ages, Bradford is largely a product of 19th-century development, beginning with the introduction of steam and the turning over to worsted in place of the original heavy woollens, and fostered by the enterprise of a number of Jewish merchants associated with German bankers. Today it is the hub of the English wool textile manufacturing and trading industry. The Victorian city centre grew up almost unplanned, but rebuilding of the central area in accordance with a comprehensive scheme began in the late 1950's.

Bradford is known for its pioneering work in health and education. Notable educational institutions include a 16th-century grammar school, a teacher-training college, and the university. Its technical college, inaugurated in 1882, is among the most famous in Britain. A Bradford M.P. introduced the Act of Parliament which more than a century ago first made education compulsory in Great Britain. Bradford was the first with a school board, school medical and dental services, school baths, school meals, a nursery school, municipal hospital electricity department and railway. A local hero is Richad Oastler, who fought the use of child labor in the mills; his statue stands in Bradford.

The residents are cosmopolitan. Approximately one in ten of its population was born outside Great Britain. The city over a century has accommodated Irish, German, Eastern European, Italian and, most recently, West Indian and Asian immigrants.

The 1972 Local Government Act represented an administrative decision by the central government authority to restructure the geographical and functional pattern of local areas. By the authority of the Act, the Bradford Metropolitan District was created to include commuter areas, as was the neighboring Leeds Metropolitan District. In terms of the field study program, this meant that suburban and village schools within these Districts were available for student placements as well as those situated within the city of Bradford itself.

The research presented in this volume is based upon participant observation in eleven different schools, with between one and four of the Field Study Program students at each school. Where more than one student participated in a particular school, each student was assigned to a different classroom. This dispersion provided opportunities to compare and contrast observations, to separate general features of informal education from practices which were idiosyncratic to a particular school or classroom teacher.

Schools were selected to maximize the variability in environments available to young children in an urban metropolitan area. Nine of the schools were regular attendance centers. Two of these were over 100 years old, one a rectangular stone building in the City of Bradford, the other a Victorian building in a large village in the commuter belt. One school had been built in 1928 as a secondary school, with part having been converted for use as an infant school and the other part being left as it was. The others were purpose built as primary schools during the 1960's and 1970's, although not all had been completed according to the original plans due to the economic recession of the 1970's and subsequent cutback of funding for education. This might mean, for example, that the large hall (auditorium) had to double as a dining room, because the dining room was included in the second phase of construction which was never completed.

Schools were relatively small by American standards, serving between 175 and 400 children with class sizes generally of 30 pupils per teacher.

Projected population growth had not always matched the reality. One purpose-built school serving a council housing estate had less than 200 pupils in a school built for twice that number, whereas another school serving a similar population had exactly the opposite situation with which to contend. Three of the schools dealt with problems of overcrowding by having temporary mobile classroom units situated on the school grounds, and some of these "temporary" units had been in that location for over 20 years. The socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds of the children served differed also, although this was not associated with whether the schools were overcrowded or underenrolled. An urban school in Bradford serving working class families received a Special Priority Allowance and had immigrant children (primarily Indian and Pakistani) bused in to the school. Two of the schools served primarily children from upper working class and middle class backgrounds with no material deprivation in their homes. The others served a complete cross-section of the population, from professional to working class, although the relative proportions of each varied.

The ages of the children in the schools ranged from 4 years to either 7 years or 11 years depending upon whether the school system was planned as a two-tier or three-tier system. In the two-tier system children attend a junior mixed and infant (or primary) school from 5-11 years, moving on to an upper school from 12-18 years. In the three-tier system, children attend an infant first school from 5-7 years, sometimes with a nursery school or nursery classes for 4-year-olds included, then a junior or middle school from 8-12 years, and from 13 onwards an upper school. Thus the ages of the children observed differed somewhat as did instructional approaches depending upon whether the children were being prepared at the end of their school term for movement to a different school in the fall or not. The type of physical environment available also meant some of the schools operated with self-contained classrooms whereas others worked on a more cooperative open planned system, with heavy curtains substituting for doors or walls. Children in some schools were vertically grouped, with children between the ages of 5-7 years in the same classroom, whereas others were horizontally streamed according to age as is usual in American schools.

In addition to the nine regular attendance centers observed, two of the Field Study Program students obtained placements in special settings. One participated in a residential school, situated on a country estate, for Educationally Sub-Normal--Moderate (developmentally disabled, primarily mildly and moderately mentally retarded) children. Another worked in a playroom for preschoolers situated in the basement of a Women's Refuge Shelter for battered women and their children.

Specific details about the particular schools observed are included in the individual research papers in this volume.

## Structure of the Field Study Program.

The purpose of the Field Study Program on Early Childhood Socialization in Great Britain was defined as follows: To provide students with the opportunity to explore administrative and organizational systems through the use of an educational system for a case study involving academic and field research. Four academic goals were established:

1) To bring an interdisciplinary approach to bear on the comparative study of the delivery of educational and other support services to young children in Great Britain and the United States.

2) To provide an understanding of the historical and cultural differences between Great Britain and the United States which gave rise to different institutional structures for the socialization of young children.

3) To teach basic field research and participant observation skills from a cross-cultural perspective.

4) To relate academic learning to field experience.

Four personal development goals were also identified as some of the ways in which a student would benefit personally from the experience:

1) To assist students in learning how to relate to children, as well as to parents and staff members, in a different cultural setting.

2) To give students confidence in their ability to generalize academic tools beyond their own culture.

3) To necessitate students' adjustment to a non-academic environment.

4) To assist students in deciding whether they may want to pursue their interests further and to help them determine the best way to do that.

Since an eight-week Summer program is a very short time in which to attempt these goals in your own community, let alone another country, a series of ten non-credit bearing orientation sessions were conducted weekly during the Spring quarter prior to our departure for Bradford. Three of these sessions, at the beginning, middle and end of the orientation program, were conducted by the Field Study Program staff and primarily concerned travel and other arrangements. The other seven sessions were developed as a "funnel", beginning with general presentations on British history, economics, and urban development and successively focussing more specifically on the British educational system, especially as related to the evolution of informal education in the infant school. The seven guest lecturers who presented these seminars had all studied and/or conducted research extensively in Great Britain.

Students were required to purchase four books, at the start of the Spring orientation sessions, to be used as general references. These were the only required texts for the entire Program, although seminar speakers suggested and provided much additional resource material. One was a field research methodology text, one a general Sociological perspective on modern Britain, one an historical introduction to the evolution of the nursery-infant school, and one an analysis of the informal approach to infant school education. The texts selected for these purposes respectively were:

1) John Lofland. Analyzing Social Settings. Belmont, California: Wadsworth. 1971.

2) Eric Butterworth and David Weir (eds.). The Sociology of Modern Britain. Revised Edition. Glasgow, Scotland: Fontana/Collins. 1976.

3) Nanette Whitbread. The Evolution of the Nursery-Infant School: A History of Infant and Nursery Education in Britain, 1800-1970. London, England: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1972.

4) Lillian Weber. The English Infant School and Informal Education. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall. 1971.

Students enrolled in the Field Study Program for an entire quarter's course credit, four units of Sociology. Special arrangements were made by individual students with faculty members in other Departments in a few cases where four units of Sociology credit would not meet the breadth requirements of the students' majors. Two of the three graduate teaching assistants were hired from Departments other than Sociology, namely Anthropology and Psychology, to give the Program a more interdisciplinary social science operating framework.

Since British schools closed for the summer holidays on July 22nd, five weeks after our Program began, this provided a natural break around which to structure the courses. Two units of credit were assigned for the first half of the Program, and two units for the second half -- one unit for theory and one unit for research methodology during each half. For the research methodology credit during the first half of the Program, students were required to keep detailed field research journals of their experience as participant observers in their placements. This was operationalized as spending the same amount of time writing their journals as they spent in their placements. To facilitate the requirement they spent one full day and two half days in their placement each week until school closing. At the same time seminars were conducted by faculty from the University of Bradford and a four-day trip to London was arranged which included group tours of nursery, infant and junior schools. For the theory unit of credit, students were required to write two short (5-7 page) review integration papers, i.e., papers reviewing the material presented in readings and seminars, and integrating relevant information into a coherent framework related to their own research aims. These papers were viewed as an opportunity for the students to do two things: (1) review their field research data and cite specific examples of ways in which it related to seminar discussions, required readings and outside readings, and (2) continue to formulate an overall research thesis to form the focus of their data collection and final paper. To assist in the organization of data collection and writing a final research paper, students were also required to submit a very general one- to three-page research proposal abstract at the beginning of the Program and a more detailed four- to six-page research proposal three weeks later.

For the research methodology credit during the second half of the Program, students either conducted interviews, for example with school staff, parents, or administrators, and/or additional library research related to their research topic. They were required to turn in two data progress reports summarizing their findings and analyzing how what they learned was relevant to their final paper. For the theory credit they wrote the research papers appearing in this volume. Thus the writing of the final papers was a process broken into four stages stretching over the eight weeks of the Program. The papers reflect upon the personal involvement of the participants in their respective topics, and draw upon the coursework and their empirical observations to objectively analyze the data collected. This is what we mean by "experiential education" in the context of a Field Study Program.

Eight weeks is an extremely short period of time for a cross-cultural immersion in a research program. Additionally many of the students were hampered by the impracticality of bringing along a typewriter and the relatively high cost of renting one in Bradford. Thus many participants were slowed down by the necessity of handwriting work which would have been done at a typewriter in the United States. It is a great temptation for every teacher, at any level, to make a "show case" out of any students' work held up for public display. In the case of the present volume this would have entailed requiring, or permitting, students to type and edit their research papers after our return to the United States. Indeed, some students independently requested permission to do so. Instead, it was decided to edit for only minor spelling, grammatical and punctuation errors and to have the papers professionally typed for the present volume as they were received. Thus, they do not necessarily reflect the best work the participants would be able to produce under optimal circumstances and after editorial and analytic feedback had been provided. Rather, they reflect what one group of students accomplished within the framework of an eight-week Field Study Program in a different cultural environment.

Marijean Suelzle
Evanston, Illinois
April, 1978

## Acknowledgments

It would be impossible to thank individually all of the people who participated in planning and implementing the Field Study Program both in Evanston and in Bradford. Each of the participants has his or her own list of individuals whose assistance and hospitality made the Program a unique and individually meaningful experience. There are a number of people, however, to whom we owe our collective thanks.

A heavy debt of thanks is owed to the staff of the College of Community Studies who provide the administrative framework and supportive advice within which a Program is developed and conducted. As Master during the 1976-7 academic year, Joe Schofer supported the initial formulation of the Program and provided valuable advice and support at a time when we despaired of locating an appropriate site and the entire Program seemed in jeopardy. As Master during the 1977-8 academic year, Dave Gordon took over this role in terms of encouraging publication of this volume. Throughout Lenore Borzak, Associate Master, has patiently worked with us on budgetary matters as well as on designing a program for a different city than Evanston, based on her extensive experience as Director of Field Study Programs in San Francisco.

The orientation sessions lessened the "culture shock" which we experienced upon our arrival in Bradford because of the willingness of people who had extensively studied and/or conducted research in Great Britain to share their experiences with us. T. W. Heyck, Department of History, Northwestern University, opened the first of the substantive sessions with a discussion of "Main themes in modern British history" which provided a context within which we could better understand political and social issues being discussed during our stay. Robert Nobay, Department of Economics, Northwestern University, rounded out our understanding of contemporary issues with an incisive analysis of "The economic situation in Great Britain today." For our third general session we were fortunate to have not only Arthur Hillman, Professor Emeritus, Department of Sociology, Roosevelt University, who had been invited to speak on "New developments in new towns" but also as his guest and therefore ours, Hans Wirz, a visiting professor from the faculty of Social Administration at the University of Edinburgh (and author of Social Aspects of Planning and New Towns). They discussed new towns within the context of government planning, linking this aspect of social policy in bricks and mortar to the concern with educational planning and community services. Following a week's break for a discussion of travel and other administrative details, our substantive seminars resumed with a specific focus on education. Martin and Penelope Croghan, both from the School of Education, Northwestern University, were a fortunate choice to provide a comprehensive overview of differences in the philosophy and implementation of the educational systems in the two countries. Martin had just joined the faculty after emigrating from Great Britain and so was a newcomer to the American system. Penelope, on the other hand, had been educated in the United States and begun teaching in Milwaukee before teaching at a girls' school in Great Britain and then returning to the United States to resume her graduate education. Our second seminar on education was provided by Malcolm Bush, School of Education, Northwestern University, whose discussion of "Good things to know about Britain and Bradford" was partially based on his public school education there. Peggy Lewis, a teacher in Winnetka, provided first-hand information about "Infant schools" based upon a year spent at the University of London and observations of schools all over England. Maggie Mulqueen, who spent her Junior year studying abroad at the University of Bath, concluded the series by offering helpful pointers on "Students getting around in Britain." Janice Sonkin, one of the Program participants summarized and typed these orientation sessions so they could become part of the permanent records from the Program retained by the College.

Sheila Allen, Professor of Sociology and Dean, Undergraduate School of Studies in Social Sciences went to extraordinary efforts to make the resources of the University and the community available to us, and to make us feel welcome. Through her efforts we were able to live in the University's Halls of Residence with recreational, library and secretarial services made available as well as office space for the Program staff. A Vice Chancellor's Reception was organized for the entire group during our first week on the campus. She not only presented a seminar on "Race relations in Great Britain" but also as a follow-up, on the evening after her presentation, opened her home for an informal evening with representatives from the different racial and ethnic communities in Bradford. An equally strong debt of gratitude is owed Helen Roberts who actually carried out most of the hundreds of details connected with making the local arrangements. We were fortunate that the beginning of our orientation sessions coincided with a visiting lecture she presented on the East coast and that she was able to extend her American visit by a few days to meet with us in Evanston. Thus she was able to personally meet with the Field Study Program group three months before our actual arrival in Bradford -- a personal exchange which greatly facilitated last-minute planning and arrangements. Her commitment to the success of the Program remained far and above the realm of normal expectations throughout, both in terms of group activities and in terms of providing individuals with assistance on their research projects.

The hospitality and practical support extended by Sheila Allen and Helen Roberts was echoed and repeated by countless others after our arrival in Bradford. A highlight during our first week was a lecture and guided tour by Jack Reynolds on the "Local history of the Bradford area." His enthusiasm and great love for Bradford was evident throughout his discussion of changes in the family, education and other social institutions as creative experiences in adaptation to the new technology heralded by the Industrial Revolution. Three faculty members from the School of Research in Education, University of Bradford -- Nancy Glandon, Marie Macey and Ivan Reid -- who had been contacted to present individual seminars, spontaneously volunteered to additionally jointly host an informal question and answer "Introduction to the British primary school" during our first few days in Bradford. This discussion ranged over all types of care for young children as well as teacher training and the University system, providing an invaluable translation for understanding the professional terminology we later encountered. Ivan Reid (author of Social Class Differences in Britain) in a later seminar related social class differences to their impact on educational opportunity and attainment. Nancy Glandon, who began her career as a Sociologist in Southern California before taking a faculty position in Britain two years ago, provided detailed summaries and bibliographies of both American and British research findings on "Sex roles, sex typing: Socialization and schooling." Marie Macey (co-author with Tom Kitwood of Mind That Child) reminded us that informal education is by no means unquestionably accepted as the best way to educate young children and has, in fact, been under widespread attack as the media and the public sought explanations for Britain's recent economic recession. Nancy Glandon, Ivan Reid and Marie Macey also generously made themselves available to provide assistance with students' individual research projects throughout the duration of the Program. Kathy Clarricoates, graduate student in Contemporary Anthropology at the University of Hull, talked to us about her current field work on "Sex role stereotyping in British primary schools." Since her Seminar occurred about the middle of our own period of participant observation in the schools, she was able to offer many helpful suggestions based upon her own experience in organizing and analyzing similar data. Lee Comer, University of Leeds, added a valuable perspective on "Women and the welfare state", relating changes in the provision of education and care for young children to the changing status of women in the labor force. All of these speakers provided a wealth of information about British resource materials. Peter Ketley, University of Bradford Librarian, made the process of accessing these and other resource materials much easier for us. He provided group tours of both the Social Science Library in Wardley House and the general J. B. Priestley Library on the main campus, arranged library cards for us all, efficiently incorporated our own resource materials brought from the United States into their Quick Service Collection, and was available as a trouble shooter when particular problems arose, especially in terms of locating government publications.

On the community side, staff members at all the schools we observed were equally available and informative despite all their other end-of-term commitments. This was especially the case during the Summer of 1977 when celebration of the Queen's Silver Jubilee meant many were involved in special concert arrangements as their schools celebrated the event. That our welcome was so genuine and wholehearted was due in large part to the prior groundwork done by Ray Hudson, Ilkley College of Education for teacher training, who actually set up the specific school placements. Mr. Hudson arranged for us to meet with the heads of the individual schools as a group, once for an introduction at the beginning of the Program and again just before school closing for a debriefing about our mutual observations and experiences. All of the classroom teachers, support staff, and involved parents did everything possible to make us genuine participants in the schools, answer our multitude of questions, and many extended personal social invitations as well. We include all of them in our specific thanks to the heads of the eleven schools observed:

1. C. M. Ashton, Headmistress, Guiseley Infant School -- who also made her school available for our two group meetings with all the heads.
2. Sheila Longbottom, Headmistress, Westfield Infant School, Yeadon.
3. Jack Eades, Headmaster, Littlemoor Primary (Infant and Junior) School, Rawdon.
4. Edgar Waddicor, Head teacher, Queensway Primary School, Guiseley.
5. Doreen Hudson, All Saints Church of England First School, Otley.
6. Roger Hartley, Headmaster, Wapping First School, Bradford.
7. Ms. Hill-Lines, Headmistress, Ferniehurst First School, Baildon.
8. Ms. Johnson, Headmistress, Bankfoot First School, Bradford.
9. Ms. Forster, Headmistress, Hoyle Court First School, Shipley.
10. Mr. Smith, Headmaster, Springfield School, Yeadon.
11. Joanna, Playgroup Leader, Women's Refuge Shelter, Leeds.

Our understanding of the nature of the provision for the education of young children was greatly enhanced by two four-day field trips to London and Edinburgh respectively. David Horsburgh, Programme Co-ordinator, The Council for International Contact, London, arranged for us to stay individually or in pairs with host families in both cities (a welcome change from dormitory living, and a further opportunity to observe British life in a way not usually available to tourists), for an evening at the National Theatre in London and a Scottish evening of dining and folk dancing in Edinburgh, as well as for tours of schools in these areas. Local arrangements and accommodations were ably handled by Molly Carrington in East Croydon and Anne Kennedy in Edinburgh. During our London trip we toured the Gatehouse Learning Center in London, several schools in East Croydon -- Tunstall Road Nursery School, St. Mary's Infants School, Davidson Road Infants School, Elmwood Infants School, and Wolsey Junior School -- and met with representatives from the police department on juvenile care and work with the Race Relations Board. In Edinburgh we toured The Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Children's Shelter, and The Church of Scotland's Hawthorne Brae Home for Children. At each school we were provided with guided lecture tours as well as an inevitable opportunity for informal discussion around the traditional hospitality of "tea".

Ray Hudson, who set up the Bradford area placements, also provided us with an invitation to a social evening at Ilkley College of Education which included a tour of the College and discussion of the materials and resources available for teacher training. Robin Moss and David Lucas spent a day providing a tour of the Audio-Visual Service at the University of Leeds including previews of their films on early childhood socialization and education.

The cover design sketched by Laura Lamson in Bradford, illustrates the daily "talk time" observed in every school -- one of the striking mechanisms by which children enter the school as responsible participants. Within the classroom setting the children gather on the floor around the teacher who asks them if they have any news to share. Each child who indicates this to be the case is provided the opportunity to then tell their news while the entire group listens attentively and silently.

The teacher uses the opportunity to extend language development by asking questions which encourage the child to elaborate the news item introduced. The effect of the daily classroom training was dramatically illustrated by the self-confident five- to seven-year-olds we observed making presentations at assemblies before the entire school of two to four hundred children and their teachers.

Upon our return to Northwestern University we owe a special debt of thanks to those who worked with all the pieces we brought back from Great Britain to transform them into their present format. Kathy Stone took the responsibility for typing the research reports and remained cheerful and patient throughout all the vagaries of handwriting present in the original reports. Kathrine Bloom, one of the program participants, subsequently proofread all the manuscripts and offered valuable suggestions for the format of the present volume. Susan Vehlow did the layout and printing for the cover design.

To all of these individuals, our thanks.

Marijean Suelzle
Frank Pasquale
Laura Lamson
Karen Ribler
Mitchell Horwich

## I. Educational Philosophy

The web of ideas giving theoretical backing to the education of young children in group settings derives from the historical, social and cultural context in which it is imbedded. Compulsory education means that the manner in which the government legislates and regulates policy will itself become one source of educational philosophy. To interpret British policy means we are always looking at the central government. Its minimal legislative prescription of practice has gone hand-in-hand with government reports (such as the 1931 and 1933 Hadow Reports on The Primary School and on Infant and Nursery Schools, respectively, and the 1967 Plowden Report on Children and Their Primary Schools) which become pivotal points for unifying concepts. The choice of five years as the age at which to make school attendance compulsory, under the 1870 Education Act, made Britain unique in fixing so early an age. A consequence has been particular attention to the developmental needs of individual children, articulated as a child-centered education in which children can learn at their own pace. A second source of educational philosophy then grows out of the theories of such educators as Margaret McMillan, Maria Montessori, Susan and Nathan Isaacs, and Jean Piaget. A third source of educational philosophy derives from the legislated freedom for teachers to design their own curriculum and methods of teaching suited to the particular features of their school. Schools are free to innovate, providing an evolution of theory in association with practice. These experiments of practice are then fed back and incorporated into the government reports as illustrations derived from schools. The papers in this section explore British educational philosophy in terms of the interrelatedness of these three components -- the central government, theory,and application.

Within the legislated autonomy of schools, Janes Antunes describes the role of structure, free choice, and group activities in producing similarity amidst diversity in the nonprescriptive system. Kim Meisel compares governmental and school staff goals with actual classroom practice fostering individual development, communication, and trust. Kathrine Bloom examines educational philosophy in terms of children who have been identified as developmentally disabled and who are being educated in a special residential school. The nature of the structure underlying informal education is made more explicit when children are unable to comprehend the subtleties of social meanings which are too often overlooked in regular classrooms as "natural." Megan Tschanen-Moran utilizes a detailed case study to provide an operational definition of an integrated day classroom. In the final report in this section, Colleen McDonald compares the degree of informality in several infant and junior classes, concluding that the trend towards increasing formality in the latter may reflect society's limitations in the transition from childhood to adulthood.

# START WITH THE CHILD:

## The School and its Structure

by

Jane Antunes

The aims of education have moved from emphasizing solely cognitive development to developing the whole child as an individual. Several educationalists have concurred that the aims of schools should be to develop the children's autonomy in their learning, to utilize and encourage their interests in the classroom activity and to allow expression of their individuality and creativity (Dearden 1968: 89-90; Dearden 1976: 36-38, 69-75; Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development 1974: 12-14; Hardy 1971: 19-25; Matthews 1975: 90-93; Weber 1971: 169-188). This philosophy of education is proposed not only by educationalists but by the government as well. The official report by the Plowden Committee in 1967 recommended the following ideology to be developed in British primary schools:

> The school sets out deliberately to devise the right environment for children to allow them to be themselves and to develop in the way and at the pace appropriate to them. It tries to equalize opportunities and to compensate for handicaps. It lays special stress on individual discovery, on first hand experience and on opportunities for creative work (Plowden Vol. 1 1967: 187-188).

An official report from Wales stressed a similar educational philosophy:

> The primary school should provide the full social, emotional, moral, and physical as well as the intellectual development of its pupils (Central Advisory Council for Education 1967: 191).

The focus is now on the well-rounded child, but this was not always so. As Dearden (1976: 83) explains, "the characteristic objective of instruction is that a certain amount of knowledge should be passed on and learned. Remembered content is the criterion for success." This change in emphasis from content to child was necessitated by the rapid developments in modern societies, both technological and social. There is too much information now to be transmitted. Also this information rapidly becomes either falsified by new discoveries or made obsolete with new developments. Because of these advances, transmission of a body of facts in the classroom is inadequate by itself. Instead the emphasis should be on "how to make meanings out of the constantly changing social reality with which one is confronted," (Dearden 1976: 69). This emphasis changes the content of the curriculum from the instruction of particulars to the teaching of skills, principles, and methods of general application of the new knowledge which helps the children learn how to learn (Dearden 1976: 74-76; Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development 1974: 12-14).

The role of the teacher changes as well. The teacher must become familiar with a wide field of knowledge in order to guide the children as they pursue new areas of learning. Such guidance entails a mastery of sources of knowledge and methods of enquiry by the teacher. The teachers will be responsible for providing this guidance personally through class discussions as well as in the overall structure and preparation of the classroom. The classroom must be a stimulating environment that allows activity and first-hand experiences in which the children learn by doing rather than by watching the teacher explain and demonstrate. As the Chinese proverb says, "I hear and I forget, I see and I remember, I do and I understand" (Mathews 1971: 89). The rationale for this approach is summarized by Dearden when he says, "we shall all approve (that) the child is naturally full of interests and curiosity, and is constantly searching for self expression and to make discoveries.... A common generalization about the presupposed child's nature is that the child is an insatiable learner" (Dearden 1976: 50). As the Plowden Report puts it, "The child is the agent of his own learning" (Plowden 1967: para. 533).

These statements reflect not only the necessity for learning by doing but also the need to treat each child as an individual. As Weber (1971: 173) points out, the child is "active, unique, whole." She, as well as other educationalists (Dearden 1976: 49-51, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development 1974: 12, Hardy 1971: 19, Matthews 1975: 87) and teachers of infant classes, see the children as people who are to be accepted as individuals and respected. They enter school with an individual pattern of learning, with an established frame of reference, and with a personal style of investigation. Therefore, the informal classroom does not produce individuality, it recognizes it and enhances it.

These broad theories of education and the development of children reflect the recommendations found in the Plowden Report. As influential as this report has been, Dearden cites problems in the report (Dearden 1976: 5-7). First, the general statements of aims in Plowden such as "a school is a community in which children learn to live first and foremost as children" (para. 505), develop the "whole personality," create "a happy atmosphere," allow the children to reach their "full development of powers" (para. 497) are too loosely connected with the actual practice of teachers. This leads to a second problem: the report is empty of content. The statements sound good but there are no concrete directions for how to accomplish what is being proposed or even a specific explanation of what these statements mean. The report does not offer specific and concrete recommendations for changes in the structure of the school and the classroom but it does officially approve a child-centered outlook for education.

## Effect of the Autonomy of the Schools on Implementing Philosophy

Changes which follow the philosophy proposed in the Plowden Report have occurred because of decisions made by individual headteachers. Suggestions, to be detailed later, made broadly in the Plowden Report and more specifically and concretely in educational literature (Dearden 1968: 85-89, Dearden 1976: 33-36, Hardy 1971: 18-25, Matthews 1975: 89-91, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development 1974: 12-15, Weber 1971: 76-132) have influenced the headteachers but have not been imposed upon them officially. The British school system is not regulated by national authority. The schools are established by local authority but there are no written or standard laws, no mandated curriculum, or elected school board. Each school remains autonomous in the structure of the school, the admission policy, and the textbooks and materials used. Virtually every aspect of the school is decided upon by the headteacher rather then by local or national authority.

The teachers also have autonomy in the organization of the classrooms in terms of daily schedule and instructions, and assessment of the curriculum. This was confirmed through discussions with several headteachers in the Bradford-Leeds area of West Yorkshire as well as through interviews with seven teachers in five schools. Two of the teachers taught in East Croyden, just outside of London. The remaining five teachers in four schools were from the Bradford-Leeds Area. Six of the teachers were reception class (5 year-olds, first year of school) teachers while the remaining teacher taught a combined class 2-3 (6-7 year-olds, second and third year in school).

The overall structure of these five schools was established by the headteacher. The teachers were able to follow this general format in whichever manner they preferred. It was their responsibility to choose the best pattern of teaching for themselves and their pupils. Even though these teachers were autonomous, the structure of the classroom and the methods used were amazingly similar to each other and to the recommendations made in the theories.

The recommendations found in the literature previously mentioned call for surprisingly similar structural changes in the school and the classroom. Everything about the classroom should be centered on the child: preparation, activity, even admission. A suggested change in the school structure is vertical grouping. In the infant schools this means that the ages of the children in one classroom will range from 5-7 years-old. The reasoning behind vertical grouping is that the children are individuals who have much to offer other children and who can learn from others of all ages.

Queensway in Guiseley, was the only school of the five observed using vertical grouping. The children ranged from 4-7 years-old. The teacher preferred this grouping because there were not too many children at the same level. Another school, St. Mary's in East Croydon, had used this system for two years before returning to the age-graded system. They found that vertical grouping was fine for the five-year-olds. The seven-year-olds, however, were not reaching their potential because they spent much of their time helping the younger children. Matthews (1975: 87) found this to be true in some classes she observed. The brighter children were held back by having younger or less able children in the same class because they were playing or wasting time. She went on to say that this would not be a valid argument against vertical grouping if the teachers were doing their jobs. However, the headmistress at St. Mary's said that with 40 children in a class it was difficult for any teacher, no matter how competent, to stretch each of the children of such varied abilities and ages to their potential. An additional problem of vertical grouping is superior achievement. In an individually paced class the younger ones may very well excel academically over the older children. This is especially difficult for a child to accept when the smarter ones are two years younger rather than merely a few months. Even though in theory such competition should be eliminated, the teachers agreed that the children are very much aware of the ability of their peers and how they rank among them.

Matthews (1975: 87) brings up another criticism of vertical grouping. It is difficult to find songs and stories suited for such a wide range of ages. Some teachers overcome this difficulty by separating the children for story time, but this defeats the purpose of vertical grouping. Others compromise on stories, trying to accommodate all ages at various times.

The teacher of the vertically grouped class agreed with the latter recommendation saying that, "the younger ones really are able to listen to stories geared for older children."

To continue the focus on the individuality of the child the educatio~~nalists~~ recommend gradual admission. This means that the children enter school when they turn five. Therefore, children will be admitted into an established class at various times of the year. None of the schools observed used this admission procedure but each school used some form of gradual admission. Two of the schools admitted all the new students in September, extending the admission period over the first week of the term so that six to ten children came to school every two days. The other three schools accepted new pupils every term at September, Christmas, and Easter. Again, six to ten children started at a time. These children generally began school at the beginning of the term in which they turned five but this varies from year to year and from school to school depending on the present size of the class and the population of the surrounding area. The children were generally allowed to begin with half days or have their mothers stay for part of the day to help them adjust gradually to the new situation. In one school the new children came to the reception classes at the end of the spring term. This gave them a sense of what school was like before they actually began in the reception class the following fall. A similar policy is encouraged of all schools in the Plowden Report:

> All schools should have a programme for contact with the children's homes to include a regular system for the head and the class teacher to meet the parents before the child enters (para 130).

In the schools that did admit children three times a year, the children entered a classroom that had an established class of approximately twenty to twenty-five children. They remained in that class for a period of nine to fifteen months depending on when they entered. If the children had been in school longer than two terms they moved to class 2 at the end of spring term. This system is advantageous for some but unfortunately not for others. Those who enter school in September are in the reception class for 3 terms or 9 months. Those starting in winter remain in the reception class for 2 terms in the first year and for 3 terms the next for a total of 15 months, thereby being exposed to the classroom experience for a longer period of time.

This is one of the problems inherent in this process even though its aim is to allow each of the children to develop at their own rate of progression. Teachers questioned about this imbalance felt it would balance out as the children reached class 5 and 6, when they are 9 and 10 years old. In any respect, the advantage of the gradual admission is that the younger learn from the older children. The teachers interviewed agreed that the younger children learn the rules of the classroom, the accepted behavior and work load, and by the example of the older children. They learn that school is not a bad place but can be fun.

Responsibility is another advantage of this system. The older children help the younger ones with games, changing cloths for PE class, and generally watching out for the new pupils. An example of this occurred several times in one of the classrooms observed. The children were gathered on the small carpeted area listening to the teacher. She asked the class a question, then nodded to Beth who had her hand raised. Beth did not respond. Soon another girl, one of the oldest girls in the class turned to her and said, "Go on, Beth... go on, answer," and Beth answered. The other girl prompted her with the authority a teacher would use. The teacher then carried on as usual.

Age grouping and admission procedure are not the only policies the headteachers specify. They also recommend what type of classroom the teachers should structure, whether it should be a child-centered classroom or a whole class, traditional classroom. The teachers follow this general recommendation in whatever manner they prefer. The teacher does not necessarily accept all of the suggestions. This was true at Otley Church of England School. The headmistress, Mrs. Hudson, said that the children were assigned a certain amount of work by the teacher. The children were generally allowed to complete the work according to their own pace and on their own schedule. The teacher guided the children but they were also given free choice of activities. Mrs. Carter, a teacher of the combined class 2 and 3 at Otley did not structure her class like that. The children did work at their own pace because, as she said, "each child is an individual and has his or her own way of doing things." But she assigned a certain amount of work which the children were to complete at a particular time during the day. She also did not allow free choice very often -- only occasionally on Friday afternoons.

### The Role of Structure in Maintaining a Balanced Curriculum

Each of the teachers interviewed said that the children are individuals who should not be pushed beyond their capacity or molded into something they are not. The most idealistic educators, such as Ivan Illich and A. S. Neill (summarized in Dearden 1976: 14-17), who stated this same philosophy recommended that the daily timetable should be abandoned, autonomy of the children should be stressed, and the children should be able to begin and end exercises and activities as their interests and mood suggest. All work should be individualized so that children are learning by themselves at their own pace. Free movement about the room should be permitted so that the children can spend as much or as little time as they want on various subjects throughout the day. The timetable should be abandoned so that the children's activities would not be interrupted. Other educationalists have exposed problems in these proposals and have offered more realistic recommendations (Dearden 1976: 43-44, 81-87, Hardy 1971: 35-37, 49, Matthews 1975: 89-102).

The first problem inherent in the idealized child-centered classroom is the timetable. A rough timetable is needed to schedule common activities such as physical education, music, assembly and play and lunch breaks. These activities are important for the overall educational and developmental experience of the children. A timetable is also necessary so that materials and apparatus can be shared. The proposal that children should be learning by doing was followed by the addition of concrete materials such as balances, sand and water play areas, and reading and math games and puzzles. In classes of 35 children, which is the average size of the classrooms observed, the teachers agreed that some organization was needed to allow all the children to use these materials equally.

A third practical reason for a rough timetable is to minimize wasted and unproductive time. Time is spent in decision making by the children concerning their next activity. Decisions that are made may be to indulge in mere play while neglecting skill work for long periods of time. Even though many educational games and skill activities are available, the choices of play and art are always possibilities. In one classroom observed the children generally chose skill activities that exercised language development or number recognition. However, in another classroom children would more likely pull out a set of blocks, paint a picture, paste a box model, or play in the play house. Dearden has found this fault in his research as well, saying that in child-centered classrooms there can be a heavy bias towards arts and crafts at the expense of mathematics and science (Dearden 1976: 37). He goes on to say that children can lose their direction by such immediate preoccupations unless some structure or guidelines are presented. As Dearden says, "frameworks can protect as well as restrict " (Dearden 1976: 96). It then becomes the responsibility of the teacher to be aware of the type of framework each child needs and select an appropriate form of organization that has the most to offer all pupils. Hardy (1971: 25) summarizes this by saying, "it is the challenge of the teacher to allow freedom for communication and interaction of personalities while providing sufficient discipline to insure that learning and growth take place" (Hardy 1971: 25).

Even though a rough timetable is recommended by the educationalists and found to be a necessity by the teachers, individualized work is still strongly recommended in the literature and used in the classroom. Six of the seven teachers interviewed structured their daily schedule to consist of two main time blocks for academic activity. These blocks were each 1 - 1½ hours long, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. Contrary to the idealized proposal, the teachers did assign activities at the beginning of each time block. These initial assignments consisted of games, number work combined with manual dexterity exercises, math workbooks and exercises, reading, writing, drawing, painting, and play in the playhouse or sand area. During this time the children were free to ask the teacher questions, show her a finished product, or just tell their teacher an interesting fact. The children were able to move from activity table to activity table. No seats were assigned and no desks were to be found in the room except the teacher's which was pushed against the wall unnoticed.

The teachers kept a record of the children's activity schedule forming a rough timetable daily or weekly. This regulated the amount of work in a particular subject area that the children were assigned. They were not always able to spend the desired amount of time or work in a particular subject or on one project. This was especially true in the main subject areas of reading and mathematics where the children were not allowed to do more pages than the teacher had assigned. They also could not remain in the play house or painting corner for an entire period in order to insure equal use of these areas. While restricting the children's desired rate of progression somewhat, the structure also maintained a balanced curriculum for each child. One of the general principles of primary education as seen by Dearden (1976: 39) is to provide:

> ...a balanced general education, 'balanced' in the sense that significant attention is given to each of several constituents of whatever is included in one's notion of a general education. 'General' education...(is intended to mean) an initiation into...basic forms of knowledge (mathematics, natural sciences, morality, the arts, understanding persons).

He does strongly advocate the total development of the child but says, "The child has a culture to inherit as well as a self to express " (Dearden 1976: 55).

## The Role of Free Choice in Maintaining a Balanced Curriculum

The structure is balanced with free choice in all of the reception classes. After the initial learning task had been checked and approved by the teachers, the children were able to freely choose their next activity. The teachers felt that free choice was as valuable a learning experience as any skill exercise. The children then not only learn new information but are individually related to their own learning. Habits of initiative, persistence, and rationale choice are presupposed benefits of free choice, as explained by the educationalists. Information-getting skills are also developed and sharpened. As one teacher said,"I feel it is better to do a lot of activities chosen by the children and not do them so well than to do the activities well but have them all decided by the teachers."

The ability to make rational decisions about what to do and how to gain the most knowledge and understanding from an activity must be learned. "The autonomy of the child becomes more valuable as the child increases his understanding and appreciation of the basic elements in rational choice" (Dearden 1968: 88). The teacher must be aware of who in her class needs direction in choosing activities and, using certain ploys and suggestions, help those children make their own decisions. while gradually encouraging them to be more independent. The teacher did agree that the older children were able to choose an activity by themselves more frequently.

Implicit in the theory of developing autonomy through free choice of activity is the children's independence from the teacher. The children are learning for themselves, by themselves. This allows the teacher freedom to move about the room attending to the individual needs of the children. The teachers do not tell the children every step of the way but rather encourage the children to develop their own learning process and make their own discoveries. Unfortunately, "an opportunity to discover is also an opportunity to fail to discover" (Dearden 1976: 82). The children will make mistakes, become frustrated, confused and impatient or simply learn the wrong thing from self-directed learning. The teacher, therefore, not only directs decision making at times but must correct the wrongs that were created once the children begin to make decisions independently. As one teacher said, expressing the sentiment of the other teachers," You can't stop a child from discovery but if you don't put a clue in the way they might not get as much out of the material as possible." In addition to personal guidance the teachers must prepare their classrooms to provoke curiosity and provide resources by making available concrete materials and books that will enhance and broaden the children's knowledge of the world around them and by presenting lifestyles and points of view that will counteract the egocentricity of the child. Therefore social interaction and whole class activities are an important part of each day.

## The Role of Group Activities in Maintaining a Balanced Curriculum

The freedom of movement in the classroom should not only enhance autonomy but should stimulate learning through participation with others. This can be formally planned, in addition to informal interactions. All the schools observed had a daily assembly which joined the whole school together for a lesson and song. In the individual classrooms the children gathered as a group several times a day, each time squeezing together on a small carpeted area. Some of the teachers used roll call as a time for verbal expression by asking the children questions about themselves, or by encouraging the children to share with the class news about their families, homes, or whatever interested them. The day generally ended with a story and songs.

Whole class gatherings were used quite frequently by the teachers for presentations, explanations, and instructions. If a group of children or even the entire class was ready to learn a new concept or use a new game the teacher would present it to the entire group. After the initial presentation the children worked on the topic independently. The teachers used this lecture-presentation approach when necessary. This teaching methods was shunned by the idealistic theorists, but subsequently educators have found that formal instruction method is necessary and can be handled with the individual needs of the children in mind.

Teacher instruction is necessary for academic as well as time-saving reasons. Even though the emphasis is on individual learning and progression, there are some things that cannot be learned by discovery, such as arbitrary rules in spelling, the names of letters and numbers, sounds, the system of weights, as well as certain concepts and principles that cannot be understood with just a surface knowledge. All of these must be taught to the class.

Class instruction in the primary schools is needed mainly to teach the basic skills in reading, writing, and arithmetic. The educators have expressed the need to practice these skills which were somewhat ignored by the more idealistic theorists. Educational theorists such as Illich and Neill call for a complete integration of subjects. No longer are they to be differentiated into separate times with distinct information. Instead emphasis is on the links between subjects, integrating many subjects in one activity. In this way various activities involving different subject areas would be going on at the same time. In the six reception classrooms the activities were varied but the subjects were divided. The other teacher assigned tasks to the entire class. Activities in all subjects were taking place simultaneously in five of the six classes but they were divided into designated areas of the room. The other reception teacher divided the activity blocks by three main areas. All the children were involved in the same subject but various exercises were going on at the same time. She said that she tried the other method but felt it did not work; while the children were doing their subject work they were anxious to get back to some game or activity. Now all the children are doing some skill exercise before they are allowed the free choice of activity.

Another method of completing work assignments recommended by the educators is to assign the necessary tasks either at the beginning of the day or week and allow the children to complete these on their own schedule, integrating free choice with assignments as they desire.

In all of the classes the teacher prepared the room before the children arrived, placing the needed books or materials on the tables. The same tables were generally used for the different activities and the children were aware of which table was used for which activity.

Even though the teachers differed on the method of assigning tasks, each assigned work to small groups. A group would be assigned the same subject area to work in but each would be working at his or her own pace, often doing something different than other children in the group.

Grouping was strongly discouraged by the educators on the reasoning that children should not be divided by ability. Each child has different but equally valuable talents which other children can learn from. Three of the teachers agreed with this recommendation, using grouping only for organizational purposes and dividing the children randomly. Some work was done as a group but as one teacher explained it, "The brighter children help the slower ones with academics and the slower ones make up for it in conversations." The other four teachers divided the children by age and ability but used grouping mainly for organizational purposes. In these four classes (three of the reception classes which admitted children three times a year and the combined class 2 and 3), the children were already divided by age. The groups were therefore basically divided by age at the extremes but by ability in the middle groups.

In all of the classes no standard level of achievement was prescribed. Theoretically the children would learn by themselves because they were "insatiable learners." But Matthews (1971: 93) has found that a majority of schools have a syllabus of sorts which indicates desired standards in skill areas. The teachers interviewed had all set a standard for the age level of the class within which the children worked at their own rate of progression. They were not bothered if some children did not achieve it while others surpassed it. What is more important was that each child was being stretched to his or her capacity. This may entail sitting a child down and telling him or her what to do when he or she is not getting enough skill practice. Here the teachers must be very aware of the ability and progress of each child. As one teacher put it, "You must know them inside out."

The children were not graded on every assignment or compared with the other children in the class. Instead the teachers kept a record of the children's reading, vocabulary and mathematical ability. All the teachers kept a running file as well of the children's work at different points in the year. This file is passed on to the next teacher so that the children are able to continue where they left off the year before.

Curriculum Similarities

Some differences in class structure and teacher preference have been presented but overall the curriculum was surprisingly similar.

In all seven classrooms a specific reading series and mathematics book was used. The reading books were used to record the progress and problems of each child. But reading was not confined solely to the reader, other books were always available. Reading areas were a part of every classroom. In some the area was only a small, carpeted square enclosed with a rack full of books. In other classrooms the reading area was a separate room adjoining the main part of the classroom. There areas were carpeted, books were along the walls, and were partitioned off with a curtain. Supplementary reading series were also available in each classroom. The teachers found it necessary to have a series available that followed a different approach than that used in the primary series. The secondary series was used when a child could not learn to read by the approach taken in the primary series.

The reading series used in each classroom varied according to the school but in every school the reading series and the teachers followed the "look and say" approach. With this method the children learned words by sight and by association with pictures that were familiar to them. In all five of the schools the letter sounds were brought in later, generally at the end of class 1 and in classes 2 and 3. The supplementary series used stressed the phonic approach of sounding words out for those children who could not recall words by sight alone.

Reading and writing were closely associated in each classroom. Four of the teachers used the "Through the Rainbow" reading series in which the children were instructed to draw and write in the book after reading a page. In these classes the children generally copied exactly what the book said and pictured. Even though this was not creative writing, a direct association between writing and reading was made.

Creative writing was encouraged in all six of the reception classes, as well as in the combined class 2 and 3. In the reception classes the children each had 8"x11" workbooks of blank pages. The children drew pictures and then told the teacher a story about the picture. She wrote exactly what the children had said in the workbook. The child then either copied over the letters or under them. Letter formation was practical as well as encouraging the children to be descriptive, to increase their vocabulary, and to be creative. The end result of this exercise was for the children to write a story by themselves with no teacher assistance. The sequence was the same in each classroom but no rate of progression was specified. The children followed this sequence at their own pace.

Those children who were able to write stories by themselves in both the six reception classes and the class 2-3 used sound dictionaries. The sound dictionary was a small 3"x6" book of blank pages. At the top of each page was a letter. At the children used a new word in their story writing they brought the dictionary up to the teacher who wrote the word into the book under the proper letter. The children were then able to refer to this dictionary when they needed to use the word in another story. In the five schools visited and the seven teachers observed these sound dictionaries were used in exactly the same way. When questioned about their origin the teachers said that they felt the books were a good idea, but they were not standardized or regulated by the school.

Creative writing was also the follow-up activity of class projects or field trips. All the schools used outside media such as television and radio broadcasts as the topic for a class project. In one of the schools the development of the caterpillar to a butterfly was presented through a television broadcast and expanded into a school project complete with paintings, essays, and even real caterpillars which were in the cocoon stage. The learning environment is also expanded to include the community and the surrounding historical cities by class field trips taken periodically.

## Summary and Conclusions

The aims and the recommendations proposed by the educational theorists and the government reports have inspired a new focus on the individuality of each child, a new direction in the classroom, and a new role for the primary teacher.

The teachers remain autonomous in the way they interpret, modify, and incorporate the educational theory into their classrooms. Much of the structure and even some of the methods that the teachers used were surprisingly similar. Yet the differences that did emerge occurred because the teachers chose a method and format that suited their style and the needs of their pupils the most appropriately. All the teachers "started with the child" in everything they did but when decisions had to be made it was the teachers who made them according to their style and personality. Dearden (1976: 47) summed it up well when he said a "teacher teaches better if he can follow his dominant nature."

# References

Central Advisory Council for Education (England)
1967 Children and their Primary Schools (The Plowden Report). Vol. 1. London: HMSO.

Central Advisory Council for Education (Wales)
1967 Primary Education in Wales (The Gittins Report). London: HMSO.

Dearden, R.F.
1968 The Philosophy of Primary Education. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

1976 Problems in Primary Education. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Hardy, Maureen (ed.)
1971 At Classroom Level: A symposium. Leicester, Great Britain: P.S.W. (Educational) Publications.

Matthews, Julia (ed.)
1975 Trends in Primary Education. London, Great Britain: Peter and Owen.

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
1974 The Teacher and Educational Change: A new role. General Report. Vol. 1. France: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

Weber, Lillian
1971 The English Infant School and Informal Education. New Jersey, USA: Prentice-Hall.

# BRITISH INFANT SCHOOLS:

## Making the Ends Meet the Goals*

by

Kim Meisel

In the mid-twentieth century, informal education began to spread across Great Britain's infant schools and replace the older traditional methods of education. Traditional education in infant schools was exemplified by large classes of children seated in rigid rows. The three R's were taught by drill methods from the front of the room. "In the old days, because of the rigid time-table, teachers were forced to treat the class as one at all times: no allowances could be afforded for those who were slower or faster in thinking and doing" (Matthews 1975). The principles behind informal education grew out of theories held by various twentieth century educational theorists and social scientists. Whitbread (1972) states that:

> Educational research in the middle 20th century provided rational justification for a child-centered nursery-infant school. Psychological research showed how intellectual development could be fostered by an environment rich in opportunities for experiment and exploration.

Theories were developed by such people as Maria Montessori, John Dewey, Margaret McMillan and Jean Piaget. "From Montessori came the technique of individual work of a child's own pace and progression... .

---

* I would like to acknowledge Mrs. Ashton, the headmistress at Guiseley School, Mrs. Tinkler and Mrs. Bingham, the two teachers under whom I worked, and all the staff at Guiseley for being so helpful. I would also like to acknowledge the students whose field notes I used to help compile data for my paper.

From John Dewey came the emphasis on the experiencing of social relationships and community, on learning generated from a child's activities and his experiences" (Weber 1971). Margaret McMillan, a pioneer in British nursery education, believed in "planning the open-air nursery environment with a view to the young child's needs" (Whitbread 1972). She believed in "providing a child-sized world where young children have full scope for imaginative play and experiment while learning motor control and developing their five senses under skilled guidance..." (Whitbread 1972). Jean Piaget's contributions to informal education are based on his theory of cognitive development in the child. He held that children develop cognitively by progressing through specific phases and that each child must move through one stage before experiencing the next. The teacher should not force learning on the child but provide the optimum conditions for his development, because it is important that his progress through the various phases be spontaneous and individual.

These ideas provided the framework upon which informal education was built. However, the massive wave of non-traditional education did not sweep Great Britain as soon as these theories were espoused; it took the right social conditions to foster the wave of progressive education.

In the period before and after World War I, there was much dissatisfaction with aspects of the then current educational system. Various groups clamored for reform and their overwhelming appeal was for "reverence for the pupil's individuality and a belief that individuality grows best in an atmosphere of freedom" (Weber 1971). After the war, many people were willing to start anew and some experimental schools were founded. As new schools were built in the 1920's and '30's, many were built to foster the child-centered idea. This wave of progressive schools in the '20's and '30's was not large percentage-wise in the whole of Britain, but it was a start to the movement away from traditional education. The Hadow Reports of 1931 and 1933 also helped pave the way for progressive education. The Hadow Report of 1933 stated that:

> ...any realistic view of education must consider the infant school not as a place of instruction, but as an instructive environment in which the child, under the sympathetic care of his teacher, may cultivate his own garden.

It was not until after World War II however, that the societal conditions were made truly fertile for the growth of informal education. Housing shortages meant that many families were living in high density areas usually in urban centers and as a result, children could not play freely out-of-doors. As family structure changed from extended to nuclear and also decreased in size, children had less interaction and communication both with peers and adults. Many mothers worked, first because of necessity and, secondly because of the introduction of labor-saving devices and inventions that allowed them the time to work outside of the home. Therefore, children had less parental attention at home. Whitbread states that continued research, done in the mid-20th century about formal and informal learning, generally supported methods used by progressive teachers (Whitbread 1972). In 1967, informal education was upheld and encouraged by an extensive piece of government research, The Plowden Report. The Report's ideas swept Britain because its recommendations for informal education offered ideas for solutions to the above-mentioned social problems. The Plowden Report was a summary of much of the research from the previous thirty years and was a statement on informal education, its philosophy, aims and goals, and provided specific recommendations and suggestions as to its practical incorporation in British Infant Schools.

## British Infant School Education: The Research Problem

Every organization, business, or social institution has its unique set of aims after which is is patterned and for which it strives. Goals must be laid out so that continuity exists among those who are involved in working to fulfill those goals. In order to view and judge the success of a particular institution one must examine its goals and determine how and if they are achieved through examination of the actual practices that occur. It is essential to observe what actually occurs in the institution in order to determine whether or not a discrepancy exists between the espoused goals and actual practice. Any organization can set up aims and goals, but unless the day-to-day practices of the organization, in some way, meet its goals, the organization is, on that level, unsuccessful.

The institution at issue here is that of British infant school education. Informal education will be the system referred to in this paper because the research data was gathered from schools which implemented some form of informal education. Informal education as defined by Weber (1971):

> ...refers to the setting, the arrangements, the teacher-child and child-child relationships that maintain, restimulate if necessary, and extend what is considered to be the most intense form of learning, the already existing child's way of learning through play and through the experiences he seeks out for himself.

In line with the recent controversy over informal education (Kitwood and Macey 1977) and its success as compared with formal education, the goals versus actual practices issue is very important. One must examine the realities of infant school education in relation to its goals in order to view how successful it is in meeting those goals.

## Methodology

Examination of the issue of goals and aims as compared with actual classroom practice was performed on various levels. The area of goals and aims was divided into two facets: governmental goals for infant school education, and school staff goals for infant school education. Governmental goals for infant school education were drawn largely from the Plowden Report. To define school staff goals formal and informal interviews were conducted.

Observational data was collected at Guiseley Infant School in Guiseley, West Yorkshire. Guiseley is a combined Nursery-Infant school with children from basically middle class, or upper middle class families. There are two nursery classes (for children aged four and five), four vertically-grouped classes of five- and six-year-olds, and three classes of seven-year-olds. Each class had approximately thirty children, totaling about two hundred and seventy children in the school. I observed for five mornings and four full days between June 24 and July 19, 1977. Two classes were observed; a class of seven-year-olds, and a class of nursery children. The data collected from observing in these two classes provided the basis for an examination of the actual classroom practices that occur in an infant school. Data were also collected for examination of actual infant school practices through site visit observation at a nursery school in Guiseley, Tunstall Nursery in East Croyden, the Gatehouse Learning Center in Bethnal Green, and Elmwood Infant School in East Croyden.

Other methods of data collection included the use of other students field notes taken at their individual placements which included interviews with school staff members along with classroom observations. Secondly, formal and informal interviews were conducted with the headmistress at Guiseley School and various teachers at the school. These methods of data collection, personal observations, interviews, library research, and and others' field notes provided the information necessary to determine how the aims and goals set up for British Infant School education by both school staff and governmental figures are met by actual infant school practices. It must be pointed out however, that my conclusions are based upon observations limited in both variety of setting and length of time. Also, it should be mentioned that my observations occurred at the end of the school year and thus were upset by "end-of-the-year-turmoil" -- special projects, assemblies, and presentations along with the anticipation of the summer holiday.

The information collected from various sources concerning the goals of governmental and school-staff, and actual practices, has been divided into specific topics since all aspects of informal education in infant schools could not be covered here. Each topic will be dealt with separately and will include the relevant goals and the extent to which those goals are operationalized through actual practice. The topics consist of the areas of individual development, communication, and trust.

Aims and Goals: Governmental and School Staff

Goals for infant schools exist on two levels. One is a level of broad and general aims, or statements of educational philosophy and long-range goals for children to meet. The other level is a more specific one. Specific statements are made concerning what ideally should occur in a school to insure that children will eventually meet and reach the long-range goals. These specific aims, then, are the means to reach the broadly-stated end.

As stated earlier, governmental goals were defined through utilization of the Plowden Report as it put the official stamp of approval on informal education in British Infant Schools. The information collected from the Plowden Report (1967) revealed that many of the aims for children in informal education are expressed as statements of educational philosophy:

> A school is not merely a teaching shop, it must transmit values and attitudes. ... The school sets out deliberately to devise the right environment for children, to allow them to be themselves and to develop in the way and at the pace appropriate to them. It tries to equalize opportunities and to compensate for handicaps. It lays special stress on individual discovery, on first-hand experience and on opportunities for creative work. It insists that knowledge does not fall neatly into separate compartments and that work and play are not opposite but complementary. A child brought up in such an atmosphere at all stages of his education has some hope of becoming a balanced and mature adult and of being able to live in, contribute to, and to look critically at the society of which he forms a part.

In this general expression of philosophy, the major goal set for the child to reach is that of becoming a mature adult, capable of fitting into society in a productive manner. Other such general statements are interspersed throughout the Plowden Report (1967) such as:

> Children need to be themselves, to live with other children and with grown-ups, to learn from their environment, to enjoy the present, to get ready for the future, to create and to love, to learn to face adversity, to behave responsibly, in a word, to be human beings.

Again, the general goal is for children to learn what is needed to insure that they will, as adults, fit into and function successfully in society.

Goals on this broad level were revealed through espousals of personal educational philosophies by school-staff members. All the staff members were essentially asked either, "What are your aims for the students?" or "What is your ideal view of informal education in infant schools?" Mr. E, the headmaster at Littlemoor Infant School in Yeadon responded that his goal was the socialization of the children. He expressed his philosophy of "education being a relationship between the teacher and the child. Each is trying to help the other. It is the child who is important not the class as a whole. The teacher is trying to improve the individual." Mrs. D, a nine-year-old class teacher at Bankfoot First Infant School in Bradford, replied that her aims were "to increase competence in the three R's and help develop independence and thinking." Miss L, Headmistress at Westfield Infant School in Yeadon, stated that "in informal education, there is no stress on getting to this point or that by a certain age because each child develops at his own pace and has interests in different things. Informal education tries to cater to each child's individual needs and development." Mrs. A, Headmistress at Guiseley School, responded that the child must be happy above all else. She said that:

> A young child should have a certain amount - a fair amount - of freedom but that freedom cannot be without limits. The child should have the freedom of choice in everyday occurrences and activities, but the teacher should be there to help and guide the child child when required. The classroom in an informal school should be a workshop where children can pursue and choose activities on their own.

She also responded that the school should be an extension of the home where sharing and cooperation take place to make the situation happy and workable for all.

Mrs. T 's (the teacher of the seven-year-old class in which I observed) basic view was to develop the child as a whole in informal education. The concentration should be on all aspects of each child's individual development; social, emotional, and physical, and not just on the cognitive aspect. The day should be structured around various activities and not just around the three R's.

Mrs. B's (the teacher of the nursery class in which I observed) view of an informal education was that above all, the work and learning should be built upon each child's interests. There should be much freetime when children choose and decide what activity to pursue according to their interests. The structure should be very flexible so that if something of special interest to the children occurs, they can use it as a starting point for a special project or activity. It is important that although there should be much opportunity for personal choice, there must be some direction given by the teacher. "The ideal classroom should really be a mixture of formal and informal methods."

The goals set out by the school staff-members are somewhat more practical in terms of actually applying them to the daily running of a school. The broad goals set out by Plowden, however, are not very practical in this sense for they set out a broad ideal for children to eventually reach; i.e., that "people will have to be adaptable and capable of adjusting to a changing environment" in order to fit into society. This type of goal cannot be assessed in terms of how well it is met within a school unless it is broken down into more specific and practically applicable aims.

The goals on the second level, as mentioned before, are more specific statements as to what should ideally occur in a school. The statements made by the staff-members include elements of both levels, broad espousals of educational philosophy and specific statements of aims. They, unlike the Plowden Report in many places, have set out practical and applicable goals and aims for infant schools. In discussing this second, more practical level of goals, the aforementioned topic areas of individual development, communication, and trust will be investigated.

## Individual Development

The goals outlined above mention the importance of individual development for each child. Individual development is the overall goal of informal education for this belief relates to and guides the functioning of all facets of informal education. The general philosophy of the Plowden Report (1967) mentions this goal. "The school sets out deliberately to devise the right environment for children, to allow them to be themselves and to develop in the way and at the pace appropriate to them. It lays special stress on individual discovery, on first-hand experience and on opportunities for creative work." More specific statements are mentioned throughout the Report. "The child's interest varies in length according to personality, age and circumstance, and it is folly either to interrupt it when it is intense, or to flog it when it has declined. Individual differences between children of the same age are so great that any class, however, homogeneous it seems, must always be treated as a body of children needing individual and different attention."

This goal of individual development is also evident in the staff-member's views. Mr. E said that, "It is the child who is important, not the class as a whole. The teacher is trying to improve the individual." Mrs. D 's objectives in fulfilling her aims for her pupils included alowing the children to work at their own pace, and for herself as a teacher, to be able to recognize individual needs. Miss L stated that "each child develops at his own pace and has interests in different things."

My research and observations at Guiseley School and at various other schools generally supported this idea of individual development. Most of the classrooms were arranged similarly; the children were split into groups of about six and were seated around tables. In both nursery and infant classes,each group had a subject area to work on, basically numbers, reading, or writing. Work was assigned either to each group as a whole or to each individual child, this being dependent upon their individual teacher. Then the children worked at their own pace to complete the assignment and when they completed it, they took it to the teacher individually to have it checked. One class at Guiseley was split into groups within which the child progressed at his or her own individual pace. For example, one day Mrs. B had one group doing their writing and she said that they were to copy a sentence off the board into their notebooks and then draw a picture to go along with it. She added to one boy, "Simon, I've written your sentence in your book so you can copy underneath it." She wrote the sentence for him in his book because he was behind the others at his table in writing. This allowed him to copy right underneath her writing and still perform the exercise with the rest of his group.

The fact that the integrated-day structure existed in the schools observed illustrated that individual development was fostered. In this integrated-day structure no rigid time-table exists as in traditional education. Instead, children pursue various activities until the particular task is completed when they then proceed to another activity. There is "no separation of activities or skills and no separate scheduling of any one activity other than the fixed points designed for all children in the school" (Weber 1971).

In this way, no child is either pushed ahead or held back by other students. The integrated-day schedule was exemplified in Mrs. T 's class. Children were seated at the five tables in the room working by themselves on different subjects or chatting with their neighbors while their books were open in front of them. Mrs. T was sitting at her desk with a stream of children at the desk asking individual questions about their work. Some of the children were pursuing other activities such as working at the Craft Table, playing or reading alone or with others in the play corner, and painting on the easels set up in the hall outside the classroom. This type of scheduling promotes individual development because as Plowden (1967) states, "Children may plan when to do work assigned to them and also have time in which to follow personal or group interests of their own choice."

This overview of a typical classroom scene above relates to another concept inherent in the idea of individual development, freedom of choice.

The Plowden Report (1967) states that ideally the teacher should act as a guide, not a director, and that the children should be allowed much choice in their activities throughout the day: "Sensitivity and observation are called for rather than intervention from the teacher;" and "the teacher is responsible for encouraging children in enquiries which lead to discovery and for asking leading questions." The idea of choice is stressed by staff members also. Mrs. D said that one of her aims was to help develop independence for the children to rely on themselves for choice and not their teacher. Mrs. A said that the child needs to have choice in everyday matters. "The idea of choice is very important. If the children need help in choosing, the teacher should be there to help them choose, but it should be handled in such a way that the child thinks that he has chosen and made the decision." Mrs. B stated that the structure of the days should be flexible so that an activity could be abandoned in light of interest in some new or special project.

At Tunstall Nursery, choice was a very important part of the daily structure. The building was physically designed to foster the individual needs of the children. A court-yard-type play area extended along the length of the building and was easily accessible from the building through the use of extensive glass doors. The school was divided into three main rooms with tables and work areas which consisted of finger-painting, painting, clay-work, books, puzzles, farm animals and a farm, water-table, Wendy Corner, and live rabbits. In addition to all of these facilities there were two smaller rooms attached to the main rooms where the children were free to go when they wanted to be alone or out of the busy classroom area. There were a myriad of activities and materials available for the children to utilize and they were free to choose what they pleased. When it was story-time, the children were given the freedom to choose whether or not they wanted to participate and if they wanted to be alone at times and not involved in a group activity, they were free to go into one of the smaller side rooms.

Freedom of choice was also evident at Guiseley. In Mrs. T 's class, groups were assigned particular tasks in various subject areas and chose which subject to work on first. In addition, she also used a method called "The choosing table." Every day the students at one table were permitted to choose which activity, either work or play, they would pursue that morning.

This goal of individual development was stressed by both the Plowden Report and school-staff members as being primary to the concept of informal education. The integrated-day fosters individual development by providing a structure within which children can work at their own pace and follow their own interests. Freedom of choice is essential to individual development and is indeed implemented at the infant level observed. As Plowden (1967) states, if children can develop individually and at their own pace, they will be more prepared to fit into our contemporary society of rapid and far-reaching social and economic change.

## Communication

The second area observed to be essential to informal education in British Infant Schools was that of communication. Communication is stressed throughout the Plowden Report as being of great importance in the child's development and must be fostered and encouraged by the school. The topic of communication is divided into two main sub-topics, verbal communication and play.

Plowden and staff-members alike stressed verbal communication as a goal to be achieved by infant school education. The Plowden Report (1967) states that the development of language plays a central role in the educational process: "Spoken language plays a central role in learning. Reading and writing are based in the first stages on speech;" and "Communication by the spoken word is at least as important as writing and for the majority perhaps more important." Thus, verbal communication is first and foremost before reading and writing since children normally learn to communicate verbally before they are ready to communicate through reading or writing. Teachers then have the job of promoting communication (Plowden 1967):

> When the teacher participates it gives her a chance for conversation and exchange of ideas, which is among the most important duties of the teacher to initiate and foster.
>
> Verbal communication is important as that is how children check their ideas against others. One of the most important responsibilities of teachers is to extend their ideas by analogies and by provision of suitable vocabulary.

The importance of verbal communication was stressed equally as strongly in staff aims for the children. Mr. E stressed language development through "purposeful activity." Mrs. D 's objectives for achieving her aims for the pupils included "developing language and communicative skills."

Language development was indeed an aim put into practice at Guiseley. On an evaluation sheet that the headteacher provided for use by all the teachers for each pupil, language had its own separate section. They also had separate evaluation sheets for each child which dealt solely with communication and its various facets. Mrs. B stated that "the staff here believes that a child must be able to express himself verbally before he can communicate in writing." Mrs. A felt that verbal communication was important and took advantage of encouraging it daily. When she walked down the halls, she made it a habit to stop and say "Hello" to children by name or make conversation with them. The result that I observed was that children would, in turn, stop her in the middle of the hall to tell her a little story about something at home or concerning themselves. Also, during assembly each day, she has made it a practice to have children stand up in front of all the classes and show something that they have brought from home and tell about it or tell a story about an incident in which they were involved. Any child who has something to show or tell may do so on any given day; it need not be anything of great importance. There are also children every day from at least one class who show a project that they have prepared or completed. Verbal communication is encouraged at Guiseley at all times through the informality and friendliness exuded by the headmistress which made her easily approachable by the children, and by the headmistress's implementation of activities in which verbal communication skills are developed, such as individual and group presentations in assemblies.

On the more intimate classroom level, verbal communication is also fostered and encouraged. A newstime is held by each class first thing in the morning as a time when children can get up in front of the class with everyone's attention and tell of an incident or show something that they have brought to school. This time is felt to be very important by the teachers as it gives the child a chance to verbalize something he or she is thinking about. The importance of this time was observed in both Mrs. T 's and Mrs. B 's classes. A Jubilee Concert which consisted of children in the top classes (seven-year-olds) from all the area schools was held at the end of June. The next day, first thing in the morning, Mrs. T said, "All right children, something very exciting happened last night. I'm sure they are all very excited about it, so the children who were in the Concert last night, will you please come up here." She then had them each tell something about the concert that was special to them. Another day, in Mrs. B 's room, the class had gone on a short field trip in the morning and had missed their news-time. As soon as they were all back together after lunch, Mrs. B said that since they did not get to do the news-time before, "They would do it right now." Mrs. B felt that this time was so important for the children to have each day that it should not be put off until the next day.

The example of news-time illustrates one of the major techniques employed by the staff to encourage communication, the expansion of language. This expansion of language was used by the teacher both verbally and through written methods. When a child came up to the front of the room at news-time, the teachers had them tell their news and then proceed to question them, prod them for details, or add personal comments. The point was to in some way encourage further communication about their news rather than the mere statement of it. Often they would involve the rest of the class in the discussion also. An excellent example of the expansion of language in process occurred one day in Mrs. B 's class. One little girl brought in two ice-cream containers which were shaped somewhat like flying saucers. After the girl explained what these oddlyshaped objects were, Mrs. B made an entire exercise out of it by having all the children think of what these object could possibly resemble or how they could be used. It was quite an interesting exercise; some of the objects thought of were a hat, a flying saucer, a frisbee, an egg or fruit cup, and cymbals. The same day one girl had nothing to show, but said that her mummy did not get up for breakfast this morning when she woke her. Mrs. B prodded her immediately with questions to expand the conversation, such as "Who fixed your breakfast?" "What did daddy do about his breakfast?" Another specific example of expansion of language occurred one day at Littlemoor School. At news-time one girl brought in a Spanish dancing doll. The teacher asked her to tell the class about it and probed her with questions such as: "What is it?" "Where did you get it?" "What do dancers like this use to make noise when they dance?" She included the whole class in on these questions also and then continued by making comments about the doll and its clothing and told the class that she is going to Majorca, where the doll originates, for her summer holdiay.

Fostering of communication is also achieved through expansion on activities that have occurred. As observed at Guiseley, there are always pictures made by the children hung on all the corridor walls and underneath the picture at the child's eye level are simple captions printed in block letters. One day the pictures consisted of women, and underneath them, the caption read "Our Mummys." In the various classrooms, special activities are always expanded upon in two ways, first by talking about them and secondly by writing about them. One afternoon the children went to their new classrooms for next year to meet the teacher and see the room. First thing the next morning, Mrs. B had them tell about their experience and followed by having the writing assignment for that day be to write about their visit. When the three top classes went on a day trip to York, they all painted murals of what they had seen and done and then wrote stories to go along with the murals.

Another technique for encouraging communication is through the use of particular devices and materials. Mrs. B utilized a "sound table". This consisted of a table with various objects upon it, all beginning with the letter sound designated for that week. Children would bring in objects from home to place upon the table and in this way would learn to associate the beginning sounds of objects and words with a specific letter. Another device, at Littlemoor, was a tape player. An activity was used in one class where the child listened to a cassette tape recorder through headphones. Each exercise included a story on tape and the same story in a book, so that the child listened to the tape while following the story in the book. This exercise was a change from the ordinary listening to or reading of a story, so that it was very popular with the students. In sum, these techniques for language expansion, the provision of special materials and devices and the daily inclusion of public speaking and communication all foster the development of communication in each child.

Communication is also encouraged by the general structure of the classroom. Since everyone works individually and at their own pace, talking is always occurring. At any given time during the day, chatter is heard among children because the teachers feel it is fine for children to work and talk simultaneously.

The second area of communication, that of communication by and through play, is also considered very important by the various goal-setters. "The school insists that work and play are not opposite but complementary" (Plowden 1967). The Report also states that play is vital to a child's learning and to school: "In play, children gradually develop concepts of causal relationships, the power to discriminate, to make judgments, to analyse and synthesize, to imagine and to formulate." Mrs. A stated that in informal education, the classroom should be a workshop where various areas of the room are set up to do various activities, both work and play, so that children can choose which activities they want to pursue. In her evaluation sheet formulated for the teachers' use, one entire section is devoted to play, its activities and its development, for each individual child. Mrs. T stated that ideally informal education should develop the child as a whole, that the idea is not to concentrate solely on learning. The day should not be structured only around the three R's; other activities need to be included because other things are involved in a child's development.

It is apparent that play is stressed at Guiseley by the number of activities that are available in one room at any time. In any one room there were always areas, besides those set up for work, set up for painting, drawing, building, constructing objects from materials such as paper and yarn, clay-work, and the Wendy House. The nursery classes also contained areas for both sand and water play at all times. Play was also implemented as an important facet of doing lessons, through the use of learning games. For example, one day, Mrs. B was doing a lesson on reading and words with the whole class. She made a game out of it by having whomever called out the word, on the flashcard that she was holding, keep the card. Then, when all the cards were gone, she would make a sentence and each child would have to come up with her or his card and put themselves in the proper order for the sentence to read as she had stated it. She carried it on so that each child received a turn and in this way the children were both playing and learning simultaneously.

Another play exercise was utilized when Mrs. B was doing an exercise or lesson with numbers. Flash cards were used, some with a certain number of objects (one through ten) on each, and some with a written number (one through ten) on the card. The children had to look at the card with the objects on it, say how many objects there were, and then match it to the card with the corresponding written number on it. She carried the lesson-game further by having different children count out the numbers in colored cubes and place them on the correct cards and then, to include sequence, she had them put the stacks of cubes in order fro one to ten. The exercise was completed by utilization of still another game for putting the number cards away. She clapped her hands a certain number of times and a child had to guess the number of times she clapped and associate it with the correct flashcard. She proceeded by playing a song on the piano to which they all sang and then clapped. Thus, one exercise was expanded upon to incorporate and integrate work in number concepts, colors, association, sound, and rhythm.

Thus, through various techniques, communication is fostered and encouraged by the use of both language development and play. The development of communication skills is indeed considered a goal to strive for by both Plowden and staff members and through my observation, I found that this goal is put into practice in the infant schools.

## Trust

The third topic that was focused upon in examining the goals and practices in British infant school education was that of trust. The Plowden Report sets up trust as an important aim for infant schools and as an aim that must be achieved if informal education is to work successfully. The idea of trust is inherent in the philosophy of education that is stated in the Plowden Report. If children are to develop at their own pace and be self-directed, a trust relationship must exist between the child and the teacher. "Any practice which predetermines the pattern and imposes it upon all is to be condemned" (Plowden 1967). Thus, children are free and trusted to make their own choice of activities (with guidance when required). Trust then brings in the idea of freedom of choice and self-direction that was discussed earlier. Related to this idea of trust is the concept of responsibility. Trust is inherent in the idea of individual development and leads to responsibility. Children are trusted to be responsible and do things on their own and hopefully this in turn produces a sense of responsibility in the child.

> We believe that atmosphere in a school runs on these lines (where there is a balance between free choice and directed choice) is healthier than one in which discipline is authoritarian, and can foster self-discipline, a sense of responsibility for others in the community, and honesty in action and thought (Plowden 1967).

In a previous statement the Report stated, "Children need to behave responsibly" (Plowden 1967). Trust and its concurrent development of responsibility are also aims expressed by staff-members. Mrs. A stated for example, that,

> The idea of trust is an important one here. We leave the children on the basis of trust to be free to go and work in the corridors on their own when they want.

> We don't keep watch over them all the time because it is understood that they will handle themselves and keep things in order.

Since the schools observed all ran on an integrated-day structure, or a modified form thereof, trust and responsibility were exhibited at a very explicit level and could be observed immediately. At Guiseley and many of the other schools, children were in the halls at almost any given time, either working or talking in groups of two and three, or freely walking to and from various sections of the school. They would tell their teacher before they left the room so that she knew where they were. No passes, though, were required to enable the children to walk around the building during class-time because they were trusted to behave themselves responsibly. Weber's (1971) idea of "in and outness" relies upon the idea of trust. Halls and corridors were used to provide extra space for children doing messy work. At Guiseley, easels were set up outside all of the classrooms so that more children could have the room to paint at one time. If a few children were working on a project together, they would often go into the hall to work on it. In general, the children were trusted to work in the halls by themselves without teacher supervision.

Many specific examples of trust and the development of responsibility were exhibited in the schools. At Guiseley, the children were expected to be responsible and trustworthy even at the ages of seven and younger. Mrs. A had letters to be delivered one day to parents of incoming pupils. She came into the room and asked children to deliver the letters to these parents, if they lived on the same street as the child. Another time, she gave the thirty children who were in the Jubilee Concert an important message to give to their mothers concerning which entrance to use in entering the Concert Hall. These messages were stated matter-of-factly and it was expected that seven-year-olds could carry out these duties. Another example of trust was observed each day when the entire school, except for the two nursery classes, had recess together. There were two teachers assigned to recess-duty, meaning two teachers were assigned to watch over some two-hundred children outside at play. When it rained, the children stayed in their classrooms for recess, meaning that there was not one teacher watching over every one or two classrooms, but two teachers watching over the entire school. It was expected that the children would take care of themselves while the teacher was not present. "A trust of children not immediately under the teacher's eye seems to have been well established in England over a long period" (Weber 1971).

At Littlemoor School, trust and responsibility were also evident. An incident was reported in which one of the teachers was absent, so that a classroom was without a teacher. The class was being noisy, so the teacher from the classroom next door sent one of her students over to tell the class to be quiet. Responsibility was also placed on the students in her classroom because each day, the students at each table were to be aware of who was absent that day and make sure that the teacher was informed. In these examples, the teacher trusted the children to help her out and to help discipline their peers. When asked who takes over a class when a teacher is absent for the day, a teacher at Littlemoor replied that "the teacher next door is asked to check in on the students or else Mr. E would check in on them." Thus, substitute teachers were not provided because the children were trusted to look after themselves.

This trust then seems to lead to a certain sophistication in the children which in turn enables them to actually be capable of the responsibility and trustworthiness that is expected of them. This issue of trust is directly related to the overall goal of individual development and the issue of freedom of choice. The system of informal education would disintegrate if trust and responsibility were not included as aims and expected outcomes. If a child is to develop as an individual (as stated in the Plowden philosophy of education), freedom of choice and self-direction, not teacher-direction, are to be encouraged. If free choice does exist it means that the child is trusted by the teacher to choose responsibly. If children are not trusted, are not allowed free choice, and are teacher-directed, they will not learn to be independent and their individual needs will not be fostered.

One recurrent issue was related closely to that of the philosophy of informal education: the child's need for attention. The assertion that children nowadays require more attention than they used to was made at some time by all staff-members with whom I held formal or informal interviews. Mrs. T related her philosophy of informal education directly to this issue. She stated that, in informal education:

> Teachers are concerned with the whole of the child, not just his learning. They are involved and concerned with the parents, too because the child's development is very much related to the home environment. The pattern of life has changed, the mother is not in the home now as much as she used to be and this affects the child. I think that the children here require much more personal attention than they used to and that is a result of the home environment.

Mrs. B also stated, "I do find that the children need alot more personal attention than used to be true." In Mrs. T 's class one day, I was helping a girl with her reading and listening to her. During this time period of about ten minutes, children were constantly approaching me and interrupting her reading by asking questions about their work. I had to tell them repeatedly to wait at least until the girl finished her reading of the sentence. The other times when it was evident that much attention was required by the students was during news-time. Mrs. A stated that she encouraged each teacher/class to have a daily news-time during which all children can talk about something that is important to them or just something they are thinking about. It is a time when he or she is recognized, has the attention of peers and teacher, and, most importantly, is listened to by the teacher and all of his or her classmates. She said:

> This is very important for the children. It is supposed to be about a half an hour long each day, but often it runs over. It used to be that ten minutes was all that was necessary for all the children who wanted to say something, but now that is not nearly enough.

The real significance of this issue then is that it points out how informal education, if it is run along ideal lines, can satisfy the children's need for extra attention. At Guiseley for example, if news-time runs to forty-five minutes or an hour, because many children have things they feel they must communicate, the day is structured in such a way that the variation can be accommodated. The whole idea of informal education as set out by Plowden and the staff-members in fact supports giving each child individual attention and stressing each child's needs. If individual needs are to be catered to in informal education, then it is essential that informal education in practice be capable of adapting to extra needs such as in this example. Perhaps they are directly related for it may be that the same social conditions that made society ripe for the spread and acceptance of informal education were the same conditions that caused children to require more attention today than used to be the case. At any rate, informal education in British infant schools is shown to be capable of coping and dealing with this issue of required attention that was brought out specifically in both formal and informal interviews.

## Obstacles

Thus far, all the topics have concerned areas or goals which have, for the most part, been met by the actual practices occurring in the infant schools. The discrepancy, if one existed at all, has been very small between the aims and goals set up in certain areas and what actually occurs, because the means used to reach these goals have been practically applied in the schools. There is, however, one major obstacle that was observed to impede the process whereby these goals of informal education could be met. This obstacle was funding, for as always, this underlies the structure and success of all organizations and institutions. Shortage of money caused by England's current recession was continually mentioned in the schools. It seems that education is one of the first places where funds are cut short in a period of economic stress. At Westfield Infant School, lack of money was very evident. In informal education since individual development is stressed, children should have their own individual materials so that he or she can work at his or her own individual pace. The shortage of money was very evident in situations where children using the individualized Fletcher Math Series could not be provided with their own workbooks and when each child could not be provided with his or her own mimeographed worksheets because paper was too expensive. Another problem tied in directly with funding was the fact that the classes were quite large. In traditional education, it did not matter how large the classes were (there were often fifty to sixty children in one class) because the lecture format was used to teach lessons. However, in informal education, the teacher has to work with and follow each child individually. When the classes become too large, this system breaks down as each child receives progressively less individual attention. Large class sizes occur because there is not enough money to build new schools or add new classrooms to old buildings. Even if new temporary classrooms were added, as many have been in the past, there would not be enough money to hire the new teachers that would be required.

Funding is also a very evident problem at the nursery level. From speaking with various teachers at Guiseley, I discovered that the consensus of opinion was that nursery education was considered to be very important for the child. Mrs. A felt very strongly about the provision of nursery education since she stated that, "the developmental years of a child's life are between the ages of two and five. These are the ages when all the patterns are laid out concerning his development." She felt that it would be harmful to the child's cognitive and educational progress if nursery education was not available. Mrs. B felt that nursery education is important because:

> It starts the child off in a positive way toward learning. The nursery experience gives the child a great chance to communicate with peers and adults and encounter new experiences, all of which introduce him to language and other skills and concepts which he will need.

The Plowden Report (1967) upholds the provision of nursery education throughout:

> There is a wide measure of agreement among informed observers that nursery provision on a substantial scale is desirable, not only on educational grounds but also for social, health, and welfare considerations. The case we believe, is a strong one.

"Nursery education should be available to children at any time after the beginning of the school year after they reach three" (Plowden 1967). If then, the development at a pre-five age is considered a goal by both school staff and the Plowden Committee, then nursery education is the method used to meet that goal. Funding, thus, presents a very threatening obstacle to the realization of this goal of nursery education provision. As mentioned earlier, because of England's economic recession, money being allocated for education is decreasing. Nursery education is the area that is taking the brunt of the decrease in funds. Many local authorities have cut off all allocations of money for nursery education. At Guiseley, no money at all is allocated at this point for the provision of nursery education. To combat this, Mrs. A has taken some of the money officially allocated for five-year-olds and older children and has reallocated it for use in pre-five classes. Funding then, is a major obstacle in meeting the aim of nursery education provision.

## Summary and Conclusions

Several conclusions can be drawn from the research collected on British infant schools. Firstly, in reviewing the goals set out by the Plowden Committee and those set out by the school-staff members concerning the three basic topics, it was found that they were very similar. The Plowden Report's espousal of goals parallels the goals set at the individual schools. The goals set are all very similar in terms of the emphasis on individual development, development of communication skills, and the development of trust with its concurrent development of responsibility.

Secondly, the issue set out at the beginning of this paper, to determine how the goals and aims compare with the actual practices in the schools, has had a positive result. The goals set out for individual development, communication, and trust have for the most part, been met by the actual practices in the schools.

Finally, in conclusion, all the topics discussed in this paper are interrelated with the broad statements of educational philosophies and goals quoted from the Plowden Report. The basic goal set out in the statement of educational philosophy is that the child eventually develops into a mature adult, capable of fitting into a changing and modern society. To do this, the more specific goals of individual development, communication, and trust must all be fostered and encouraged:

> A child brought up in such an atmosphere (of informal education) at all stages of his education has some hope of becoming a balanced and mature adult and of being able to live in, contribute to, and to look critically at the society of which he forms a part. (Plowden 1967).

## References

Boyle, D. G.
1969 A Student's Guide to Piaget. London: Pergamon Press.

Dearden, R. G.
1976 Problems in Primary Education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Erikson, Erik
1963 Childhood and Society. Middlesex: Penguin Books.

Kitwood, Tom and Marie Macey
1977 Mind That Child. London: Writers and Readers.

Langford, G. and D. J. O'Connor (eds.)
1973 New Essays in the Philosophy of Education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Maier, Henry W.
1965 Three Theories of Child Development. New York: Harper & Row.

Matthews, Julia
1975 Trends in Primary Education. London: Peter Owen.

Phillips, John L.
1969 Origins of Intellect: Piaget's Theory. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman.

Piaget, Jean and Barbel Inhelder
1969 Psychology of the Child. London: Basic Books.

Plowden, Lady
1967 Children and Their Primary Schools, A Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England). Volume 1: Report. London: HMSO.

Short, Edward
1971 Education in a Changing World. London: Pitman.

Weber, Lillian
1971 The English Infant School and Informal Education. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Whitbread, Nanette
1972 The Evolution of the Nursery-Infant Schools. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

# IN THEORY AND IN PRACTICE:
## A study of the aims and practical implementation of the program at Springfield School

by

Kathrine E. Bloom

In recent years, research has been conducted in the area of the available educational programs for handicapped children in Great Britain. Specifically, out of a growing concern, researchers have studied the environment that is created in various special educational settings for Educationally Sub-Normal (E.S.N.) children, and the role of the teacher in those settings. To clarify terms, the Handicapped Pupils and School Health Service Regulation 1975 defined E.S.N. children as:

> Pupils who by reason of limited ability or some other conditions resulting from educational retardation, require some special form of education, wholly or partly in substitution for the education normally given in ordinary schools (Tansley 1960).

This definition suggests that the E.S.N. category is quite broad and thus draws attention to an overwhelming number of children. Statistics also reveal the magnitude of the problem. Out of a total school population of over 9 million children, 10% of those children fall under the category of Educationally Sub-Normal (Statistics of Education 1975, vol. 2).

Tansley reflects on some of the needs of E.S.N. children in his book The Education of Slow Learning Children; he contends that children need the security that is provided in a stable, predictable and consistent environment. He also notes that this sense of security originates from knowing a familiar pattern or routine. He seems to imply that the environment must be structured to provide a routine that the children can follow and from which they can find satisfaction. He stresses that security is an essential need of infancy and if this has not been fully met, as in the case of many E.S.N. children, there is a poor foundation for later personality development. But, Tansley, is quick to add that another crucial need exists as well; the need for giving and receiving affection, and notes that often E.S.N. children have been inadequately satisfied. He argues that this deficiency explains why they seek the close attention and approval of the teacher. This implies that those E.S.N. children who have not been given adequate love and affection in their home environment, should be provided with them by the teacher in the educational setting. Since Tansley refers to these emotional needs as the basic needs of all children, it would be safe to say that these basic desires should be provided in all educational settings, including ordinary schools, hospitals, and residential schools for E.S.N. and maladjusted children.

Similarly, Gulliford maintains in his book entitled Special Educational Needs, that the basic aim of special schools for E.S.N. and maladjusted children is to:

> provide a therapeutic environment in which the children can learn to relate to adults and other children, can be helped to understand themselves and to overcome their difficulties. The security of familiar school routines is combined with greater flexibility and tolerance of individual children's anxieties, aggressions, attention-seeking and immaturity (Gulliford 1971).

He visualizes the environment of the special schools for the E.S.N. and maladjusted as a therapeutic setting in which the children can learn how to relate to others and overcome their emotional problems. Both Gulliford and Tansley agree that to promote the child's feeling of security, patterns and routines should be established while allowing for a degree of flexibility and tolerance for each child's emotional needs; they see the need for structure and flexibility within that structure.

As previously indicated, Tansley emphasizes that the teacher should satisfy the child's need for the warmth and affection that was lacking in his home environment, and Violet R. Bruce in her book entitled Awakening the Slower Mind seems to be in complete agreement:

> A teacher must know the children as individuals. She must project her feeling and understanding, and be personally involved with each one. She must not be afraid of affection, even if it produces from the child a caress or a kiss. There are, of course, limits to the amount of physical affection a teacher can permit when there are so many children, but there is a tremendous need for the brief demonstration of affection sometimes from a child, especially in a residential school (Bruce 1969).

This quote indicates that Violet R. Bruce is advocating that teachers of E.S.N. children must be sensitive to their individual needs. Because each child is so unique and indeed "special," the teacher must be aware of the individual needs and respond to them accordingly. The need for affection is one that Bruce feels is crucial to the child's development and thus, should be expressed by the teacher. But, the teacher should be aware that there is a limit to the amount of affection she should exhibit to the children. She continues by talking about the need for the teacher to be flexible in her methods of teaching so that she can "come to know the children, to take risks, and to allow things to happen."

This brief review of the existing literature provides the reader with some knowledge as to the aims of some of the programs for E.S.N. and maladjusted children, and of the guidelines by which these aims can be achieved. The main point to consider is that the routines be established to promote a sense of security within a child, while providing some flexibility within the familiar set pattern.

This study will investigate the environment created and the perceived role of the teacher within that environment in one residential school setting for E.S.N. (moderate) children. Specifically, the study is based upon the analysis of the perceived characteristics of an ideal environment, and the perceived role of the teacher within that ideal environment. Secondly, the study will analyze what strategies are used by the teacher to maintain this ideal environment. In effect, the theory and actual practice of education at the school will be discussed. By focusing on these specific issues, the reader will hopefully gain insight into the aims of one residential setting for E.S.N. (moderate) children, and be able to determine how these aims are (or are not) actually achieved. Researching one residential institution in detail will provide comprehensive knowledge of the special services provided for one group of E.S.N. children.

The design of this study will incorporate 80 pages of data which was collected and recorded in a four week period during the summer of 1977. This data was written in the form of an extensively detailed field journal, highlighting teacher-child interaction in varied behavioral settings. The method used to collect the data was participant observation for 2 (10 hours each) days a week, and four informal interview-discussions, each approximately 1-1/2 hours in length, which were arranged with the headmaster and the teachers of the classes observed.

The place under observation was Springfield School, a junior residential school, located in the rural hills of Yeadon, West Yorkshire, approximately 4 miles from the city of Horsforth.

The sample consisted of 6 boys, ages 7-9, who comprised the reception class at Springfield and who were classified as ESN (M) with I.Q.'s ranging from 50-75. These children came from emotionally unstable home environments which add to their educational handicap.

To gain maximum amount of useful data, and to witness the entire program provided for the children, I arrived by bus in the morning, just before the children finished their breakfast, slept at the school one night and observed for another full day until after the children's "supper."

The decision to observe at Springfield was made for two reasons. With only four weeks left before the "end of term," headmasters were reluctant to have visitors (this placement was not arranged through the program, but instead through a personal contact) and thus the choice was rather limited. However, the choice was a fortunate one since the institution provides care for the E.S.N. (M) children who come from disturbed homes, where death, divorce or separation has led to emotional problems.

## The Behavioral Environment

The first aim of this study is to investigate the perceived characteristics of the behavioral environment at Springfield. My findings from the interviews with both Mr. S, the headmaster and Miss H, the teacher whose class I observed, were quite revealing in terms of their ideal expectation of what a behavioral environment should be:

> It's an ordered environment with a clear pattern of conduct with which many E.S.N. children from poor backgrounds are able to find initial success by relatively easy conformation to that pattern. I would expect that pattern to give success in social progress which would then translate into educational progress.

This clearly indicates that Mr. S believes that the ideal environment should be both educational and structured with an established pattern of conduct. At the same time, he maintains that the child within that structured pattern, must be able to find initial success with relatively easy conformation to that pattern.

These ideals are strongly confirmed by Miss H, who is both teacher (of the reception class) and deputy headmaster of the school. She maintains that

> We have a more or less controlled environment here at Springfield,

but, she was quick to add,

> You must be elastic; you can't be rigid; you can't have rules for everything. You must make some allowances.

Miss H agrees that the ideal environment should be controlled, but she added that there also needs to be flexibility within that controlled and structured environment. She implies that when a teacher tries to establish a degree of order, she should be aware of the individual needs of the children and make allowances within the structure as a response to those needs. As she continued talking, some very revealing comments were made concerning her beliefs about the ideal behavior that the child should exhibit within the ordered environment.

> We don't have a discipline problem. I have my standards... consistency is security for these children, and they haven't had that security at home.

This clearly suggests Miss H's opinion that the teacher should consistently discipline the children by enforcing her established set of standards of socially acceptable behavior. By doing so, she implies that she can maintain social order, decrease the occurrence of acting-out and uncontrolled behavior, and provide consistency and security that the children lacked in their home environment.

Combining all the findings thus far, several points can be clearly stated. It is the aim of both Mr. S. and Miss H to maintain an ordered behavioral setting and strict consistency in the children's behavior. The way in which this order is achieved seems to be by following certain standards, such as rules of conduct. But at the same time, they feel that the teacher must allow for flexibility within that structure.

## Perceptions of the Role of the Teacher

The second aim of this study is to determine how the staff perceive the behavioral role of the teacher within the structured environment that they establish. The actual question that was asked is "How do you define your role as teacher?" In response to this question, both Mr. S and Miss H relayed their personal assessment of what the role of an ideal teacher within the patterned environment should be. It is clear from the comments made, that both define the role of the teacher as a figure of authority who through disciplinary actions, guides the children into socially acceptable, "correct" behavior. As Mr. S indicates,

> We have laid down a pattern that was made by me a number of years ago, based on what I feel the childrens' behavior should be. This pattern requires the child to behave correctly at the right times. It is structured. We try to discipline the child to be happy within

> this pattern. But, providing you keep this basic framework well defined, then within this framework, you should have flexibility.

Mr. S argues that through the teachers' disciplinary action, the children should be guided toward socially acceptable behavior. He admits that the framework established is structured, but he maintains that by providing a well-defined pattern or framework, one can allow flexibility within it. He implies that because the rules and expectations of correct behavior are so well defined, flexibility can be incorporated into the framework, without fearing the possibility of a breakdown of that structure. It seems that the staff disciplines the children in accordance with what they believe to be socially correct behavior, and thus, Mr. S implies that a consistent and predictable environment in which children may feel secure is established. Their ultimate aim is to compensate for the child's lack in security and love by providing a consistent, predictable and stable environment. Similarly, Miss H contends that

> The general role of the teacher is to be a figure of authority and guidance upon whom each child may rely for stability and consistency.

Her comment indicates that she maintains that the teacher must be a figure of authority who strengthens the environmental structure by enforcing the rules of conduct upon which the environment is based, through the use of disciplinary techniques.

However, both agree that the role of the teacher should not be a nurturing role which is necessarily emotionally based. Both are very quick to argue that the teacher should not be a parent-substitute. The teacher should not become emotionally involved with the children.

Thus, in interacting with the child, there should be an avoidance of gestures (i.e., holding, cuddling or soothing) which might encourage emotional dependence. Miss H clearly made this point in the following comment:

> Although by nature of the residential situation, the teacher may be considered as being "in loco parentis" -- a parent substitute, this does not mean that he or she should attempt to become a substitute parent. This would possibly serve only to undermine or confuse the child's relationship with his or her actual, foster or "house" parents.

It is obvious that Miss H does not want to confuse the child's relationship with his parental figure. She explains why:

> The reason why we don't desire to be a substitute parent is because the relationship between a parent and child is very exclusive. No matter how inadequate the mothering or fathering is, there is still an early learned or instinctive closeness. For example, there is a child here who was thought to be battered. She was taken into care and eventually found foster parents. When she received letters from her foster parent they meant nothing to her. She wanted to go home and receive letters from her real parents. No matter how much battering she had received at home, she wanted to be with her mother. There is a unique relationship between a mother and child that can't be explained.

This clearly suggests that Miss H feels the relationship between a mother and her child cannot be matched and any attempt to do so, would only confuse the child's relationship with his or her acting parents. Therefore, the teachers at Springfield, she maintains, should not attempt to become emotionally involved with the children's personal problems. Instead, they should provide a consistent, stable and predictable environment from which the child can gain security, care and protection rather than emotional support.

These findings indicate that the teacher acts as an authority figure, who by use of disciplinary action, enforces these rules of conduct upon which the structure is based, thus at the same time, guiding the child into socially acceptable, "correct" behavior at "the right times." This implies that the teacher should refrain from using any gestures that would inspire emotional dependence. The child should regard the teacher as the giver of care, protection, consistency, and stability but not of emotional love.

As discussed earlier, the main objective of this paper is to investigate the aims and objectives of the program at Springfield school, and to see how these aims are achieved in practice. These findings indicate that the staff aim at establishing a structured environment based on the rules of conduct that are enforced by the teacher's use of disciplinary tactics. This stability in the environment is then transmitted to the child. The perceived role of the teacher within this framework, is primarily thus disciplinarian. She imposes her standards on the children by consistently indicating to the child what those rules of conduct are, and thus, guiding them toward socially acceptable behavior.

## Disciplinary Strategies

Keeping these aims in mind, the remaining part of the paper will investigate how these aims and objectives are achieved in practice. Specifically, the disciplinary strategies used to enforce rules upon which the structured environment is based will be evaluated as will the conditions under which the teacher exhibits felxibility. By citing relevant examples from the field journal, insight will be gained regarding these issues.

One of the disciplinary methods observed was acting as an example for the children to follow.

> We stopped at the door and Miss H said this was her room. We went into the foyer and wiped our feet on the mat. She had asked me to do that and said that all the children do that so they won't get the rug muddy.

This suggests that the children often internalize the rules of conduct from seeing figures of authority maintaining them too. Specifically, the children internalized wiping their feet before entering the classroom from the behavior that Miss H exhibited; she too wipes her feet before entering the classroom.

Before each meal, the children line up in two single-file lines, one for boys and one for girls, with their heads facing in the direction in which they are going and with their hands at their sides. Before entering the dining room, they must be completely quiet before the teacher will decide that they are ready.

> The children start to line up after they have finished using the toilet and washing their hands. Miss H walked down the lines, as a signal to the children that they should be silent and ready to go. One child, a pupil from Miss H's class, wanted to ask her something. He reached out to touch her; she was standing near him at this point, surveying the lines. Her face was serious, with mouth closed and eyes looking straight ahead at the dining room. "Miss H," the boy said, and reached to tap her hand to get her attention. Without saying a word, she raised her hand around 2 or 3 inches as a sign that she didn't want him to talk. She said nothing - that movement was all. The child became silent. He turned and faced foreward.

This example also illustrates the teacher's strategy of disciplining the child through exemplary behavior. The teacher remained silent as an example to indicate to the child that she did not want any talking. As illustrated, when the child approached her, she did not respond to him, but instead remained silent as an example of the kind of behavior she expected him to exhibit. The child responded with silence. This example suggests yet another point. By using such subtle techniques as enforcing rules by example, the teacher is also developing in the child a sensitivity and responsiveness to subtle cues, which in the end, effect a decrease in the amount of discipline needed to maintain socially acceptable behavior.

Another incident in which the above strategy was employed, occurred when the children were practicing songs for an assembly to be held the following morning.

> "Does anyone have any suggestions about a song that everyone can sing?" asked Miss H. No one raised their hands. One boy called out, and was not recognized. "Well, I'll have to look in my book, and see if I can find one then," she said. A boy did raise his hand, and Miss H recognized him; "Yes, Andrew," she said.

In this instance, Miss H did not respond to the child who did not raise his hand, indicating to the child that he would not be recognized unless he raised his hand. A minute later, the child saw another boy raise his hand and he was recognized. This is an illustration of disciplining the child to behave correctly through the use of example behavior. Although in this example, the exemplary behavior was exhibited by another child, the child would still realize that he will have to raise his hand next time in order to be recognized. In addition, this is also an indication that the children are quick to respond to subtle cues; the teacher did not directly say, "You did not raise your hand, therefore I won't call on you."

Similarly, during another practice session a week or two later, there was also stress on discipline through positive role-modelling techniques. If the children forgot a word or mispronounced a word while singing the verses, Miss H would immediately correct them. She would say the word correctly out loud with emphasis on each syllable. The children at that moment would stop singing and look up at Miss H and would watch her closely as she pronounced each word slowly. Everyone would then repeat the word with Miss H, and then the children would continue singing. She never had to say, "Now, repeat after me," the children automatically followed her technique and repeated the word correctly.

In the morning, when the children were just finishing their academic exercise of "sentence writing," which involves reading, repeating, and composing sentences that Miss H writes on the board, this same strategy of getting the child to imitate the teacher's correct behavior was observed.

> The children came up to the board and started to write 5's on the board. Some of the children were not doing it in the right way; the final product was correct, but the method used to get the final product was not. Miss H showed them the right strokes to use, and in which order. She took a piece of chalk, and emphasized the starting point of each stroke and drew the number several times on the board for the children to copy.

By showing the children the correct way in which to write a 5, Miss H was guiding the child into correct behavioral procedure. Although this is educationally based behavior whereas previous examples show this technique used in terms of promoting socially acceptable behaviors, the strategy employed is the same and so is the effect.

In each day of observation, I recorded at least three examples of this same technique used to maintain the rules of conduct both in educational and social settings. The following incident similarly illustrates this same technique used to maintain rules of conduct which strengthen the social order. It was during a Monday morning assembly...

> The chairs were placed in straight rows with an aisle in the middle (like a church). The girls sat together on one side of the aisle, and the boys sat on the other. In the front, there was a row of chairs and a podium near-by, all of which faced the children in their seats. Miss H stood at the podium and everyone was seated; the children faced Miss H. "Good morning Everybody," she said. "Good morning," said the children. "For our assembly today we shall sing..." (she named 3 songs). "All stand," she said, "and close your eyes; hands up in prayer position". Miss H put her hands in prayer position and read the hymn through once, emphasizing the words as she spoke. After she finished, the children said it.

This incident clearly illustrates that the teacher seems to enforce the rules of proper conduct by modelling behavior. Miss H, in this case, said "Good morning Everybody" and the children repeated exactly what she said. When she said "all stand," the children stood. When she said, "close your eyes, and hands up in prayer position", she also put her hands up in prayer position as the children did. By using this method, Miss H was able to maintain social order throughout the assembly.

However, positive role modelling to enforce correct conduct is not the only disciplinary technique employed by Miss H in Springfield. My findings indicate that other techniques are used as well. Specifically, discipline is also achieved through direct verbal and physical cues from the teacher. In many cases, Miss H would either tell the child to sit in his seat, or to "face front," or she would approach the child and actually place her fingers on the child's head, and turn him around to recapture his attention.

The first incident illustrates the teacher's use of verbal and physical techniques for regaining the child's attention and thus promote disciplined behavior.

> During singing, Adrian was not paying attention and was instead looking at me. Miss H approached the child, tapped him hard on the head 3 or 4 times, then took hold of his head and turned it around; Adrian turned and began to sing. A minute later, she noticed that Mark was not paying attention either. He was also glancing over at me. "Mark Jordon! you are not facing up front, you're not watching me." said Miss H. Mark immediately faced front and began to sing.

These two approaches are much more direct than the subtle approach of positive modelling behavior, but as has been illustrated, both strategies seem to work together in practice. In this example, the child immediately responded to the teacher's comments and physical disciplinary action, to maintain social order. But out of this episode, a question arose in my mind. Why should such strong disciplinary measures be taken in this situation rather than in any of the other incidents described previously? As illustrated, in former examples, the children have often shown a slight lack of attention and it seems that until now, the teacher has disciplined the children by use of subtle techniques. What is the difference? A possible explanation occurred to me. Five minutes earlier, before Miss H made these direct approaches to the children to maintain social order, Mr. S the headmaster had come into the classroom. He was somewhat upset and relayed it to Miss H and another teacher present during this practice session by saying:

> And that reminds me, Mark Clayton and Peter were up before the rising bell, Miss H, and Mrs. K, and that means no sweets, no biscuits, and no seconds for either of you (he pointed to each of the boys).

It seems, from this example, that Mr. S uses punishment as a disciplinary technique to maintain rules of conduct. By directing his comment to Miss H and Mrs. K, Mr. S could have been implying that Miss H and Mrs. K had some connection with the boys' misbehavior. It also seems plausible to say that the effect for the short time following this incident, might have influenced Miss H's chosen disciplinary techniques for maintaining social order.

Although there was one more incident in which verbal as well as physical disciplinary techniques were used, in this case, Mr. S could have affected Miss H's mood which, in turn, might have influenced her behavior.

Another episode in which these more direct techniques of maintaining the rules of conduct was used was during a practice session when the children were singing...

> Some of the children were looking at me occasionally or looking past me out the window. If Miss H noticed them, she would either point to them and look with a stern face, or would tap them on the head and then turn their heads around with the tips of her fingers.

As illustrated in the example above, Miss H used physical and visual techniques to maintain the rules of conduct.

## Effect on Children of Discipline

The next question which needs to be answered is whether or not the children are benefitting from the discipline and internalizing the rules of conduct that have been so consistently and carefully enforced.

My findings indicate that some children do internalize the rules of conduct and apply it to their behavior.

> O.K., Adrian, come up here... said Miss H. Adrian looked eager to sing the song...he walked up to the place where the last 3 boys stood, and with his head high, he began to sing. His voice wasn't too loud but it wasn't too soft either. When he finished the verse, all of a sudden, he raised both of his arms up to indicate that the other children should start in...it was the first time I'd seen a child take on this kind of initiative. Mr. S walked in, complimented the children on their fine singing and stood in the doorway for about 5 minutes. At the end of Adrian's verse his hands went up again, and I could see Mr. S smile wide when he saw it.

It seems that the child initiated his own behavior. In effect, he was imitating the teacher's cue (raising her hands) which indicates to the children that they should begin to sing the chorus. This is evidence of how this child imitates and internalizes these cues. To be able to imitate the teacher's disciplinary technique in the proper manner, the child must have internalized the specific technique and its operative effects. This same child imitated the headmaster's behavior to perfection which illustrates the same point;

> Oh, Adrian does a beautiful imitation of Mr. S, said Miss H. "What should I use as a pipe?" asked Adrian. Miss H looked around and over near the paints, she found a clean toothbrush. Adrian put it in his mouth. He opened his mouth slightly as if he were smoking it, letting the air in, covering the tobacco with his hand, breathing in, letting air out. I was amazed at his perceptions -- they were so clear and exact. "Go outside the office" said Adrian; he said it quick and very firmly, and gave me a shove into the room. "Now, sit in, and go inside the office." He gave me a little push inside. "Now get up and stand", he said. "Did you make your bed?" he asked me with the pipe still in his mouth. I said

> "no" very meekly. "NO SECONDS!" he said to me with wide eyes. "Now, go and have your dinner." he said, grabbed me and took me over to the sandbox where he got a baby food jar and spooned some sand inside. "Now stand and eat that" he said sucking on his pipe. "Ok, that's it, no more food; now, go outside my office, Now!" he said that as he glared into my eyes. I went back into the room and sat on the chair; "Stand!" he said loudly. I stood. "Bend over" he said, he left and closed the door. He came back and said, "Now get up and go and have your supper." I ate some, but not all and so I put the jar down. "Finish," he said, "you must finish". I picked it back up and continued to eat. "Ok, that's enough, now back to my office. You can't have any more sweets today and you must stand through dinner tomorrow." It was time to clean up, and so Adrian said, "Ok, you can go".

This very lengthy incident suggests that this child internalizes the rules and regulations by imitation. It is quite revealing that all the actions that Adrian imitated had negative tones to them; this could indicate that the children do not have many fond memories of Mr. S., they are somewhat scared of him. In an interview with Miss H, she explained that the children have very little contact with Mr S, and they look at him with fear and awe. But this incident also indicates a tolerance for flexibility, in terms of the kind of behavior being exhibited. Miss H is sensitive to the children's need to act out their internalization of the rules through imitative behavior, and thus she permits it to occur.

This past sequence of incidents illustrates that there is an ordered environment at Springfield, and within that structure, it is the teacher's responsibility as disciplinarian to enforce the rules of conduct upon which the structure is based. As portrayed, my findings indicate that the teacher uses various disciplinary techniques to enforce the rules of conduct and maintain social order. These include the technique of positive role modelling to enforce correct conduct, and the technique whereby discipline is achieved through the use of verbal and physical cues from the teacher. My findings suggested that by using such subtle techniques as enforcing rules by example, the teacher is also generating child responsiveness to indirect cues, which in the end, effect a decrease in the amount of discipline needed to maintain socially acceptable behavior. However, with both techniques, there was an overall effect that a minimum of discipline was needed to maintain social order. The teacher never needed to scream or hit the children to contain them, in fact the most severe technique for disciplining used was a teacher approaching the child, tapping the top of his head 3 or 4 times and turning his head around to recapture his attention. The children's behavior seemed quite disciplined and signs of severe disturbance and lack of discipline did not appear. In addition, my findings indicated that the children are benefitting from the discipline and internalizing the rules of conduct so that they will be able to apply them to later life.

## Flexibility Within the Well-defined Structure

However, to evaluate the system adequately, there is another aspect that is necessary to discuss. As Mr. S suggested in his opening remarks during the interview, within the well-defined structure you should have flexibility. Similarly, my findings indicate that this flexibility existed inside the classroom and outside, during free play and during academic exercises. Within this flexibility, I observed subtle but humorous jokes pass between the teacher and child. Although maybe that child could not comprehend their meaning or implications, it did indicate that at the "right times" the atmosphere does appear to be freer with open communication encouraged. During play, the children are given the freedom to choose what they want to play with. However, I never observed a child running around or screaming. This might indicate that even within the flexibility, there is still a slight emphasis on discipline so that the routine structure will not break down. One might think that the flexibility would necessarily alter or cause a breakdown of the structure, but since the structure is so well defined, that does not happen. The stress on discipline within that flexibility helps to strengthen the structure and protect it.

One way in which the flexibility is reflected is through the teacher's responsiveness to the individual's needs. An example of the teacher's sensitivity and awareness that each child has the need to be recognized, was observed during the routine academic exercise involving sentence writing on the board.

> Each sentence was about a child, usually something about what that child did during the previous day. Adrian wanted to read his sentence. "I want to read that," he said. Miss H pointed to each word and Adrian read it. "Adrian has a new toy car." Miss H stopped and turned toward Adrian. "Where is your car now...?" asked Miss H. Adrian said that another boy had taken it and smashed it. The conversation lasted around 5 minutes.

As illustrated in this example, Miss H responds to the child's need for free expression. In this instance, she initiated a small dialogue between the child so that he could expand on his knowledge. Miss H seems to be aware that these children need the opportunity to express themselves and therefore she tries to initiate conversation. The incident is a clear example, therefore of the flexibility which integrated into the established structured environment at Springfield as a response to the individual needs of the children.

The next incident illustrates the conditions under which the flexibility is suspended. The episode occurred during the familiar academic activity of writing sentences on the board.

> "We've been talking about..." began Miss H and Mark got up out of his seat and went to the blackboard. "I will play operating," said Mark. Miss H was not bothered by this. She listened to this and said O.K., and Mark went back to his seat without having her have to tell him. Stephen, a little while later, got up and went to the board. As he went back to his seat, the chalk fell down. He did not notice and Miss H said, "Stephen, pick up the chalk that fell on the floor" and guided his body down to the floor where the chalk was. He bent down to pick it up. He was not doing this particularly fast, and Miss H could see that he was daudling. "Hurry it up Stephen," she said, "and put it in the basket and then to your seat until I tell you to get out of it." He put the chalk in the basket and went to sit in his seat.

At first, the children were freely going up to the board to watch Miss H closely as she wrote the sentences. The children were by no means forced to stay in their places; they were allowed to get up from their seats as long as they maintained socially acceptable behavior and did not cause interference with the flow of the routine exercise. The point at which Miss H got irritated was when the boy took a long time to pick up the chalk; this indicated to Miss H, that the boy was taking advantage of his position at the board. At that point, she told him firmly to go back to his seat and not get up until he was told to do so. The incident was soon over, social order was maintained, and the lesson continued. This suggests that the point at which the teacher actively suspends the flexibility is when the children over-step their bounds, when they attempt to control the situation.

In this example, the child was trying to dictate how long he was going to take to pick up the chalk and the teacher needed to step in and regain her position of control.

Another example that, within the broad constraints of the rules of conduct placed upon these children, the children are encouraged to communicate freely was observed during story time at the conclusion of sentence writing on the board.

> Miss H read the story with much expression, "Whooo'sss been trip-trapping over myy briddgge" (her voice was very low and old and crickity sounding for the troll). The children sat there, all looking intently at the pages with the pictures and at Miss H's finger as it guided all the children's attention toward each word. She made her voice very high and meek for the littlest Goat Gruff and her voice was natural for the middle goat and it was harsh for the biggest goat gruff. Miss H read, and Stephen got off his seat, pointed to the bridge and said, "Like the one at Bolton Abbey." "Yes, that's right... but, the one at Bolton Abbey is a bit longer", Miss H answered. She allowed the children to comment on the pictures as she turned the pages. This free and open communication was encouraged. "And the troll ROARED," said Miss H. One of the children said ROAR and then some other children started to join in. The whole incident added excitement and variety to a story that they had heard so many times.

This incident clearly illustrates the point that Miss H, by providing an environment where free expression is encouraged, is satisfying the individual needs of the children. But, the most prevailing point is that this flexibility does not alter the overriding structure and the rules of conduct upon which the structure is based. Because her expectations of socially acceptable behavior are so clearly defined, the flexibility in terms of free expression and imitative behavior exhibited by the children will rarely become uncontrolled. If however, the discipline or order ever did break down, open communication, free expression and imitative behavior would immediately be sacrificed until stable, acceptable behavior had been reestablished through the use of severe discipline. This is only conjecture; I did not actually observe the collapse of discipline. Severe acting-out behavior and lack of discipline did not appear.

The next example of the flexibility within the ordered environment at Springfield, occurred during indoor free play time after the children's "supper."

> It was now playtime. The record player was plugged in. Miss H took some crayons and papers for some of the girls who wanted to draw on the dining room tables. Mark wanted to listen to records, so Miss H brought him some. Shawn dressed up in clothes, and Andrew brought the skittle pins (similar to bowling). In between my turn at playing Skittles, I went over to see what Mark and the other children at the record player were doing. There was some popular music on; I danced with Beverly and Janet. I held Beverly's hands and I said, "Back and close, and 1, 2, 3 with our hands together. Step back and forward and side, side, side." I glanced over to see what Miss H was doing. I was so suprised to see her body slightly moving to the music. When a marching song came on, she marched near the blackboard with straight legs going straight beside her. She smiled from across the room as Beverly and I were dancing. At the same time, Miss H was keeping score as the children took their turns. Andrew took his turn while Miss H was changing the record for Mark, and said "Look, Miss H, I hit 9". She replied "Andrew, you're not to do it while I'm not watching - you'll have to do it over."

The example illustrates many points. First of all, it suggests that the children are provided with a varied selection of materials which would fulfill many children's individual needs; some children wanted to draw, some wanted to dance to records, and some wanted to play skittles. Secondly, the behavior exhibited by the children seemed very uninhibited. Beverly seemed to enjoy the dancing with me quite a lot because when it was my turn at Skittles, she didn't want me to go; she clung onto my hand. The children seemed more lively, there was more talking between the children, but I did not see any cooperative behavior. But, the most revealing point in this example, is that the behavior of Miss H also became relatively uninhibited. As compared with the previous example emphasizing her disciplinary techniques, where her behavior is quite controlled, in this instance her movements are more lively and uncontrolled, more spontaneous. For instance, she danced to the marching music as a child would which indicates that she was relating to the children on their level. This to a certain extent promotes warmth in her relationship with the children. And yet, when the time came for Miss H to exert her disciplinary techniques, she quickly changed her manner and enforced social order.

After this brief but revealing evaluation of the type of flexibility which alternates with the use of discipline to maintain rules of conduct and the conditions under which the flexibility is suspended, some major points can be developed. My findings indicate that indeed, there is flexibility within the established routine of Springfield. This flexibility is revealed in terms of the teacher's responsiveness to the child's need for free expression and open communication. In contrast, the child's need to develop educationally is reflected in the teacher's use of disciplinary techniques. As Mr. S explained in an interview, "By easy conformation to that pattern, the child will progress educationally."

## Conclusion

Two primary aims of the program at Springfield have been discussed: to promote children's educational progress and to promote children's social progress by allowing them to openly communicate and express themselves. To promote this educational progress the teacher enforces rules of conduct by the use of the disciplinary techniques discussed, within the school curriculum. This curriculum includes sentence writing, writing letters home to parents every week, counting out pocket money, and writing in individual "writing" books. To promote social progress, the teacher must allow a degree of flexibility where open communication and self expression are encouraged.

However, in the final assessment, it seems they have neglected the child's emotional development. In an interview, Mr. S commented on this issue:

> I don't see the role of any member of staff as a parent role. I don't see myself as a father figure. I feel there should be a closeness between all staff and children. All the staff should have love for the children, but the staff should be careful not to become emotionally involved.

He suggests that the teacher should not take on a nurturing role, such as a parent substitute. Rather, he encourages the teacher to foster the child's educational and social progress and promote self discipline and independence so that the child may be integrated into society. He implies that the stress should be on educational progress and not on the emotional progress of the child.

Similarly, my findings indicated that the teacher does not, in practice, take on a nuturing role, and there is a considerable de-emphasis on her use of cuddling, holding and soothing gestures which might encourage emotional dependence. In addition, the teacher rarely initiates personal interaction with an individual child or with the children collectively, to discuss emotional fears or anxieties because if might foster emotional feelings on either side. In one instance the teacher's sympathetic emotions surfaced quite clearly, but this was an effort to comfort a child who had been physically hurt. After the child regained his composure, the teacher returned to her role as disciplinarian.

However, I would maintain that because the children come from families where separation, divorce or death has led to minor disturbances, the emotional progress of the child should be considered as well. Keeping in mind that E.S.N. children are classified in terms of their I.Q. scores, the primary aim of a program for E.S.N. children should be to foster the child's educational development. However, one cannot ignore the fact that emotional stability affects the educational progress of a child. The way in which Springfield handles overt, acting out behavior is by severe discipline. Thus, one might infer that the children have no emotional problems because they are "so well behaved." It is easy to find justification for teachers who say they do not want to interfere or confuse children's relationships with their real parents but in a residential situation, all processes of the child's development -- educational, social and emotional -- should be adequately considered.

# References

Bruce, Violet R.
1969 Awakening The Slower Mind. London: Pergamon Press.

Furneaux, Barbara
1969 The Special Child. Middlesex: Penguin.

Johnson, Rex (ed.)
1963 An ABC of Social Problems - and Therapy. Residential Child Care Association; Volume 2.

Kahan, V.L.
1971 Mental Illness in Childhood: A study of residential treatment. London: Tavistock.

Pringle, M.L. Kellmer
1965 Deprivation and Education. London: Longman Group.

Stone, Judith and F. Taylor
---- A Handbook for Parents with a Handicapped Child.

Tansley, A.E., and R. Gulliford
1960 The Education of Slow Learning Children. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Wolff, Sula
1969 Children Under Stress. Middlesex: Penguin.

Younghusband, E., D. Birchall, R. Davie, and M.L.K. Pringle
1970 Living with Handicap. National Children's Bureau.

## Queensway Junior Mixed and Infant School:
## A Case Study with Description and Analysis

by

Megan Tschanen-Moran

As a student of education I have read much about the British integrated day and open plan schools. Through all of this I have found it difficult to obtain an understanding of how all the theories and the rather vague jargon is actually put into practice. I believe that many others are in the same predicament, and so I undertook this study of one particular integrated day classroom in order to clarify for myself and [illegible] others just what is happening in such a classroom.

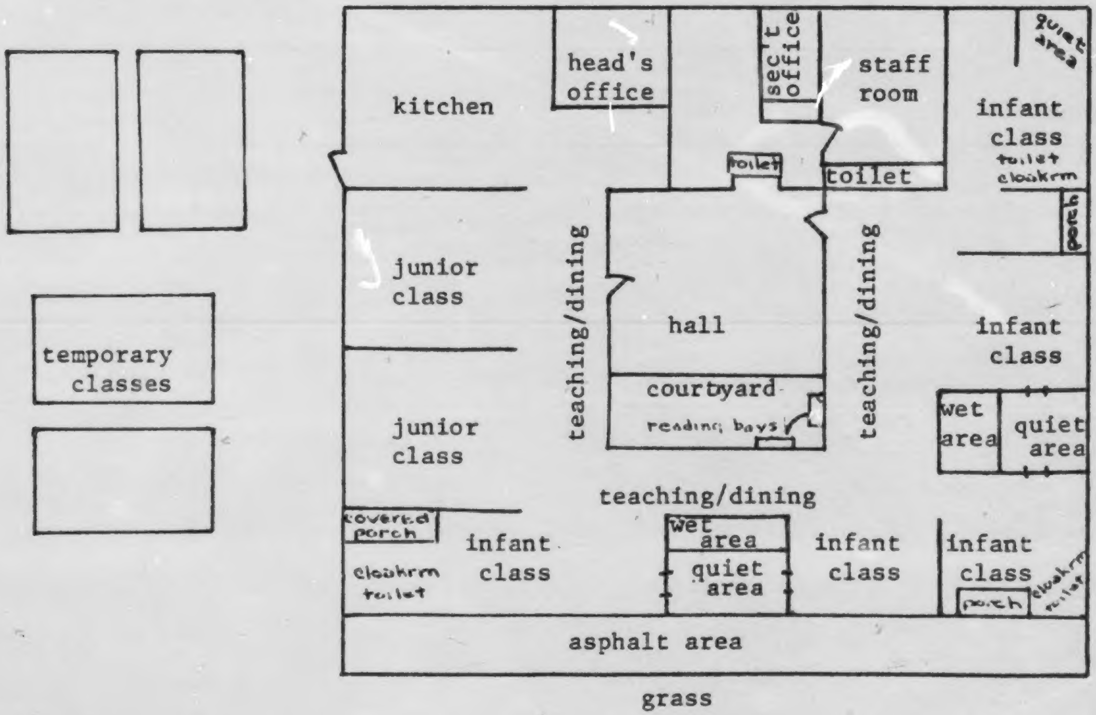
### The School

The school I studied was Queensway Junior Mixed and Infant School. Queensway serves children from five to eleven years old, inclusive. The school is located in Guiseley, which is a suburb of both the city of Leeds and the city of Bradford in the county of West Yorkshire, England. The school is in the middle of a council housing estate, which consists of houses owned by the government and rented out on a sliding scale according to income. The parents of the children at Queensway are therefore primarily working class, although there are some who are middle class and own their own homes.

The school was built in 1972 to accommodate 250-275 children but it now serves 404. There are four "temporary" classrooms to accommodate the overflow (but since they have been there for five years, the staff are beginning to realize that they aren't so "temporary" after all). There are twelve teachers at the school, but two of the junior classes have had to combine into one "teaching space" (a classroom and part of a hallway) because of space problems. Seven of the classes are junior classes and five are infant classes.

The school is built on a semi-open plan, which means that there are walls which define definite teaching areas or classrooms; but instead of doors there are large openings covered only by thick curtains. These divide the classrooms from each other and the main corridor. There are also smaller openings and doorways between adjoining classrooms. The seven classrooms of the main building are arranged in a "U" shape around a hall or multi-purpose room and an enclosed courtyard. The fourth side is occupied by the offices, staff room and kitchen. The five infant classes are housed in the main building, and three of the junior classes as well. The other four junior classes are in the temporary buildings. The two infant classes along each side of the square share a quiet area and wet area, with openings on both sides.

Below is a sketch of the school's layout and floor plan:


kitchen
head's office
sec't office
staff room
quiet area
infant class
toilet cloakrm
toilet
toilet
porch
junior class
teaching/dining
hall
teaching/dining
infant class
temporary classes
courtyard
reading bays
wet area
quiet area
junior class
teaching/dining
covered porch
infant class
cloakrm toilet
wet area
quiet area
infant class
infant class
porch
cloakrm toilet
asphalt area
grass

The particular class that I observed was taught by Mrs. Williams. There were thirty-five children in the class, which is an average-size class for the school. This class is vertically grouped (as are all five of the infant classes), which means that there is more than one age group in the classroom. Each classroom has the entire range of five-to-seven-year-olds. This is the first year that the school has tried vertical grouping, and it was successful enough that they are continuing it again next year.

I entered the school as a participant-observer. There were limitations upon my observations due to both the time in the school year and the requirements of the program I was studying under. The latter permitted me only five full-day and four half-day visits over the course of five weeks, and thus I missed a lot of the feeling of continuity and involvement which might have developed with more frequent interactions. My knowledge of the school thus has some gaps that would have been filled in if I had been able to be at the school full time for three or four weeks. Also, due to my inexperience in field research, I felt it necessary to carry a notepad to occasionally jot down observations. This caused, however, unnecessary suspicion and uneasiness among the teachers (especially from such an occasional observer as myself). The former situation, namely the time in the school year, which was shortly before the summer holidays, meant that there was an abundance of special events. These made the teachers very busy and the children very excited, and thus they may have interfered with my getting a true picture of the school in its normal operation.

In addition to my observations in the field, I also read what literature I found available on primary education and the integrated day at the University of Bradford Library and the Bradford Public Library. These combined make for the extent of my research.

## The Physical Layout of the Classroom

My description of the classroom I observed begins, as class does, in the quiet area. The quiet area is a 10'X10' carpeted room with a full length window along one whole wall and extending on to each adjoining wall. Along the opposite wall are three book shelves at a 45° angle from the wall, all filled with books such that their covers are clearly visible. On each of the side walls there is a doorway, covered by a curtain (one leads into Mrs. Williams' classroom, and the other into the neighboring classroom). On these walls there are also posters with the letters of the alphabet and an appropriate picture above each letter. There is a round table near the bookshelves, with child-size chairs around it. There is a vinyl, cushioned chair against the side wall in which Mrs. Williams sits when the class meets in this room. There are benches along each of the remaining walls, and a "poofie" or cushioned foot-stool in the corner.

In Mrs. Williams' classroom there are seven child-sized tables of various shapes. Around each of these are four to six child-sized chairs. There is not a lot of wall space for displays, because much of it is taken up with windows and doorways or openings. What wall space there is is primarily covered with the children's work, although on one wall and the near-by shelf there is a display of "old things" (antiques) which they have been studying and collecting. There are three pets in the room: a mouse, a parakeet and a goldfish.

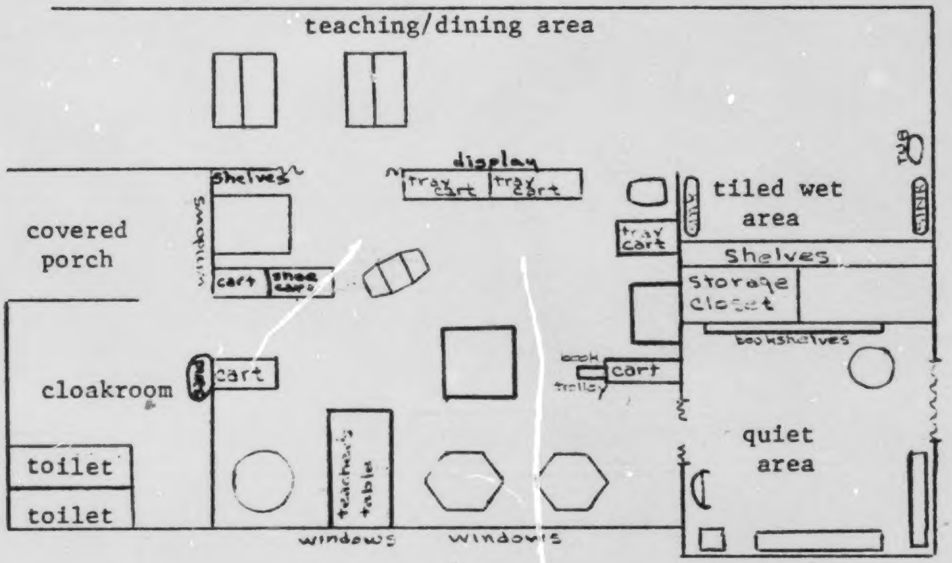
Between Mrs. Williams' classroom and the neighboring classroom there is a ceramic tiled "wet area" with two trough sinks, and shelves where the powdered paints are kept. There are two plastic tubs, which are about 18 inches deep, on stands, and which are filled with water and plastic toys such as rubber ducks of various sizes, tubes and plastic bottles. On the wall near these tubs hang two blue plastic aprons for the children to wear while they are engaged in water play. In the cloakroom near the outside door, is a similar tub, which contains sand and plastic toys for playing in the sand (e.g., buckets, shovels and molds of various sizes). There is also a dust pan and a hand broom for cleaning up the sand after play.

Throughout the room there are moveable carts with cupboards and blackboards and bulletin boards and cubby holes for shoes and pumps and for each child's personal tray. There are also some book shelves and a book trolley. On the window ledge there are glass jars with sharpened, thick pencils in them, and small plastic tubs with scissors or crayons in them. In one corner is a plastic balance scale. On the stationary set of shelves there are various manipulative materials for math, such as unifix cubes (plastic cubes which fit together to make sticks or towers and which are also used for counting).

As in each of the classrooms there is a door leading outside to a covered porch. The children are able to bring the sand table out onto this porch, even when it is raining. This porch area is visible to the classroom through a large row of windows. Just inside this door there is a cloakroom, with a child's name on a card above each of the hooks. There are also two toilets.

The other main opening to the classroom is that into the wide corridor which is called the "teaching/dining area". This area houses square tables around which eight children can sit. During the morning and the afternoon these tables are used as part of the classroom and children are sent to them to do their work, and during dinner (noon meal) these tables are used for dining.

Below is a sketch of the classroom's layout and floor plan:


teaching/dining area
display
tray cart
tray cart
tub
shelves
windows
covered porch
cart
shoe cart
tiled wet area
sink
sink
tray cart
Shelves
Storage Closet
bookshelves
cloakroom
cart
book trolley
cart
quiet area
toilet
toilet
teacher's table
windows
windows

## The School Day

The school day begins at 9:00 a.m. The children arrive, some of them with their mothers and younger siblings, hang up their coats and jackets and change into their pumps (school slippers). The school found it necessary to require the children to have a pair of shoes or pumps to change into while inside the school, because of the problem of mud being tracked in when it rained. The mothers may talk casually with Mrs. Williams about a child who has been sick, an upcoming event at the school, or other general matters. The room has already been prepared for the morning's activities with tidy piles of workbooks, materials for an art project or whatever other activities Mrs. Williams has planned (materials which are for specific children are also prepared ahead of time with their names printed neatly in the upper right hand corner). When the children are ready they go into the quiet area to talk and play with one another until Mrs. Williams comes to begin class. This is the way one day began:

> As Mrs. Williams entered the room a number of children began talking at her at once, telling her all kinds of bits of information. She listened attentively to them as she moved into the room and sat in her seat. When she had listened to several briefly she sat up in her seat and said to the class, "Alright then, are we ready?" The children who had been talking with one another stopped talking and turned around to face her.
>
> She said to the class, "Good morning, everybody"; and they replied in unison, "Good morning, Mrs. Williams! Good morning, everybody!" Then she began to call the attendance register. As she called each child's name they answered, "Yes, Mrs. Williams". Some of the children, when their name was called, had some bit of information or news to say to her and she listened to them.
>
> But when she got to the dinner register (i.e., how many children were staying for the school's noon-meal), she said, "Let's be quiet and get this done properly and then we'll have a telling time". When the children were called on they either answered "Yes please" or "No thank you". One child mistakenly said, "Yes Mrs. Williams", and she calmly corrected him, "Yes please". He repeated, "Yes please".
>
> When she had finished the dinner register, she asked the class to count with her to see how many children would be staying for the noon-meal, and they counted in unison to nineteen. Then she counted to herself how many children were absent and asked the class if there were seven absent

how many children were present. A number of children raised their hands and she called on them one at a time, although several children were shouting out answers.

When someone guessed twenty-seven she said, "Nearly", and then another child immediately called out, "Twenty-eight!" She said, "That's right" and then several other children said that they were just about to say that.

She asked one child to put the register books on her table and then she said, "Now, raise your hand if you have something to tell". About eight hands went up immediately, as did the noise level. She called on one girl, but told her not to begin until everyone was quiet. When everyone had quieted down, the girl said that they had gotten their new bunny the night before. Mrs. Williams asked her some questions about it, such as its size, color and where they had gotten it from, and she encouraged her to elaborate on her answers. She responded to the girl's comments in other ways as well. For example, when the girl said that it had been frightened and went into its "hut", Mrs. Williams said, "But if you are kind to it then it will soon learn not to be frightened of you, won't it?"

When that girl was finished Mrs. Williams called on another girl who reported that her grandmother had come the night before. Mrs. Williams asked her why her grandmother had come, and if she had stayed for tea. But the girl replied that she had come only to drop off some things for the school "jumble" (rummage) sale.

Mrs. Williams then said, "Just one more" and she called on a boy. He said he had gotten a new puppy the night before. She asked him about its size and color, its name, what it ate and what it drank. Since he didn't know the answers to many of the questions she said that it was probably because he had had the dog for such a short time, and that perhaps when he had had him longer he would share with them again.

Then Mrs. Williams announced that the red group (such groups are divided according to ability) had their reading on their table, and that she would be around to hear them read. She called on four

> children to go to the dining area (to the table with hoops and people) and she told them that she would be out to work with them on sets. She called on four children to finish their writing in the dining area, four to do their Fletcher math at their table (Fletcher math is a new series of math workbooks) and four to do the math paper that she had laid out for them. These four immediately asked if they could do their Fletcher math. Mrs. Williams said they could after they had done the paper she had laid out for them. Another boy who hadn't been assigned a task and so had free choice said, "Can I do my Fletcher math? Can I do my Fletcher math?" Mrs. Williams said that he could.
>
> The rest of the children had free choice. Mrs. Williams asked who wanted to paint and almost every hand went up. She chose four, to fill the four available spaces, and then asked each of the remaining children individually what they would like to do. She helped by giving suggestions if they couldn't think of anything.

Some of the activities which are available for free choice, although they are not all available every day, are: water play, sand play, plasticene (play dough), building with Legos, paiting, drawing, cutting and pasting, going to the climbing frame or the music corner (both of these activities are in the teaching/dining area and are shared between all five infant classes; therefore, only one child per class can go to each at any one time), woodworking (with glue), dress-up, cars and cowboys and Indians. Some examples of the assigned or work activities, which often overlap with the free choice activities above, are: working in one's Fletcher math workbooks, working with math manipulatives on seriation, classification, sets, etc., doing work cards or work sheets of sums, differences and products, measuring, reading aloud to the teacher, reading silently and then copying several sentences, phonics games and activities, sightword games and activities, art work (such as drawing, painting, cutting and pasting from magazines, collages with paper, string, cotton balls, buttons and wood shavings), and perhaps writing about it afterwards, using a word book, copying from dictation of the teacher according to one's level of skill and going out in a group with the non-teaching assistant of the school for work on cooking or sewing. (The non-teaching assistant is a person employed at the school to do odd jobs such as making the coffee and doing the dishes in the staff room, but she or he is also available to each of the infant teachers for one period per week for special projects such as sewing or baking.)

Mrs. Williams tries to have only two groups at a time working on math and reading, and to have the rest of the class involved in things that require less teacher attention. While the children are working she circulates among them and children may raise their hands if they want her for some reason or another; or else she may sit in a seat and those children who need her help or direction cluster around her.

Mrs. Williams requires each child to have each set of facing pages checked in completely in their Fletcher's math books before they can go on; and many of the reading and writing activities require a lot of teacher attention. There are usually a number of children who need her attention at any one time. The demand is intensified by her diligence; she not only answers the children's questions but she regularly asks them questions in return about their work. This both checks the student's comprehension and the depth of her or his understanding as it simultaneously encourages them to think.

After the children have worked a while they may ask to "choose" (i.e., go to a free choice activity). Permission is granted only if Mrs. Williams feels that that child has accomplished a reasonable amount of work for that child. The older ones are, of course, expected to do more work than the younger ones.

At about 10:15 the children are instructed to leave their things whether they are finished or not, and to tidy up. As they complete this task they move to the quiet area for a story, songs, unison poetry reciting, a telling time or something of these sorts. If it is not raining the children change their shoes and go outdoors for a twenty minute play time, while the teachers go to the staff room for coffee. If it is raining all of the infants go to the hall for singing. Each teacher is assigned to be on the playground for recess duty twice a week.

When the children come in from play time they gather in the quiet area and those who wish are served a free bottle of milk. There is generally informal conversation between Mrs. Williams and the class during this time. When most of the children have finished their milk, those who have work to finish from the morning are excused and the remainder are assigned to free choice activities. The work period then continues much the same as before play time.

At around 11:45 the children are instructed to tidy up for dinner. This time they put everything completely away, and again they gather in the quiet area. Again there may be a story, songs, telling or the showing of someone's morning work. Here is a sample of one of these sessions:

> Matthew (5) stood in front of the class next to Mrs. Williams holding up a chalk drawing he had done that morning, on red construction paper. It was a picture of a fire engine, with a ladder extending from it, a helicopter, with a ladder hanging down from it and a fire.
>
> There were five figures in the fire engine, one in the helicopter and one on each of the ladders. Mrs. Williams asked him what each object in the picture

was and then asked questions such as, "How many firemen have you drawn in the fire engine?" He answered, "Four". Since there were five figures in the truck she asked him if the first one, in a separate compartment from the rest, was the driver. He said, "Yes." She asked him if the driver was a fireman too, and he said, "Yes." But when she asked him again how many firemen there were in the truck he said there were four firemen in the truck and one driver.

Then she asked Matthew and the class about the ladders and how the one ladder got attached to the helicopter. There were many ideas, most of them amounting to the man on the ground having lifted it up there with two hands; or that the man in the helicopter had just reached out and hooked it on.

Mrs. Williams asked them if they thought that if they were standing on the ground they could lift something as high as a helicopter. The younger children said yes, but the older children were puzzled. Mrs. Williams went on to another question, but later on Michele (6) said that the helicopter could fly down low until they hooked the ladder on, and then fly up again.

Mrs. Williams then asked (because of something somebody had said), if it could be a wooden ladder After a moment of thought, some of them said no. When she asked why a wooden ladder wouldn't be good for using in a fire, they replied, "Because it would burn up!" Then she asked if it could be a rope ladder. She called on Alan (6), who began to say yes but then realized that it too would burn up. She asked what kind of a ladder they could use and one child said a metal one. Mrs. Williams then asked the class if a metal one would work, and several children said no that it would melt.

She asked again what kind of a ladder they could use. Paul (6) suggested a stone ladder, that stone wouldn't burn. Several children said that they had never see a stone ladder, but Paul insisted that they could make one. Michele protested that it would be too heavy, that it might drag the helicopter down. Finally they decided that a metal ladder would be the best, and Mrs. Williams agreed with them and assured them that a metal ladder wouldn't melt unless it got very, very hot.

After this session, the children are excused for dinner. Approximately half the class goes home for dinner, although the number varies from day to day. Some of the mothers come to pick up the children who are walking home. There are two sittings for those children who stay at school for dinner, one from 12:00 to 12:30 and the other from 12:30 to 1:00. The children who eat at the second sitting play on the playground until it is time for them to eat, although most of the infants eat at the first sitting. There are eight people seated around each of the tables in the teaching/dining area; two junior children sit at the head of the table and serve the food, and, unless they have other plans, the teachers sit and eat with the children as well. There is a unison grace before the food is served. One of the lunch ladies (who prepare the food and supervise the serving) shouts, "Hands together, eyes closed!" and when there is silence she begins, "For..." and the children join in, "what we are about to receive may God make us truly grateful. For Jesus Christ's sake. Amen".

When the children return from dinner the room is already set up for the afternoon's activities. The children gather in the quiet area and Mrs. Williams takes the attendance register once again. The children are given new work assignments and new free choice activities. Work proceeds much as it does in the morning.

Between 2:30 and 2:40 the children tidy up their places, but they leave their materials tidied up to gather again in the quiet area. There may be another telling time, song or story before the children are dismissed for a twenty minute play time. When they return from play time they again gather in the quiet area and are dispersed from there to continue their afternoon's activity. At around 3:15 the children begin to tidy up the room completely and gather in the quiet area for any announcements or closing activities before they go home. Many of the mothers are again waiting outside the door to pick up their children and to walk them home.

## Variations in the School Day

Variations occur in the schedule, of course, and even without the abundance of special events that were occuring during the time of my visitation, no two days of the week ever seemed to be quite the same. The assembly is a major variable in the schedule. Under the 1944 Educational Act, British schools are required to have an act of corporate worship each day. On Friday there is an all-school assembly in the hall. One class leads this assembly each week, sharing some topic they have been studying and the work they have done on it, or telling about a visit (field trip) they have taken. This assembly always includes hymns and a prayer.

On the other four days the hall is shared between the juniors and infants. The juniors have it for two days and the infants for two days for assemblies of their respective level. The infants are on Tuesday and Wednesday. On Tuesday the assembly is in the afternoon and the headmaster (principal) leads a lesson in religious education. On Wednesday one of the classes leads the assembly on something they have been studying or doing. On Monday and Thursday a class may either join with another class, or individually they may have a story and a hymn.

One afternoon a week all the infants have a music lesson in the hall from 1:30 to 2:00. The music lessons are taught by one of the junior teachers.

On another afternoon of the week each class has a separate physical education lesson in the hall which is taught by their own teacher. In addition to these two weekly events, each class has a weekly time to watch an educational television program on the television in the staff room.

There are many other nuances about Queensway School which cannot be conveyed in a short description such as the above. Many aspects of the school have not been touched on at all, but the overview provided is sufficiently detailed to suggest both the nature of an ordinary day in the classroom and the central aspects of one English school in the integrated day and semi-open plan. My object in what follows is to review critically and analytically these educational initiatives in the light of my related reading.

## Relationship of the School to General Educational Issues

In the decade since the Plowden Report (1967) the literature on primary school teaching methods has covered the entire spectrum from enthusiastic acceptance and approval of the methods advocated by Plowden to serious criticism with a swing back toward more traditional teaching methods (The Black Papers 1969-77 and The Bennett Report 1976). Most educators are left to find their own way to a middle ground between simply creating a "stimulating environment" (sitting back to "let the child develop naturally") and running a traditional teacher-dominated classroom. In the process of finding this middle ground, as was evident even at Queensway, there have evolved many new models and much educational jargon. The wealth of material has at times become confusing because various writers and educators seem to define and use similar terms with different connotations.

R.F. Dearden (1976) has, however, done a very good job of clarifying and defining the major terms used in educational literature and circles today. In what follows, I have adhered to Dearden's definitions for clarity and precision.

Mrs. Williams of Queensway school is one of those teachers who has tried to find the middle ground. She directs each child's learning programme as well as their activities, but she also allows them a certain amount of free choice to pursue their own individual interests. The children work individually through commercial math and reading schemes, but these are supplemented with work from her. The children, however, are grouped into ability groupings for easier management and coordinated activities. Mrs. Williams' class can justifiably be classified as an "integrated day" under the definition given by Dearden in that there is no set time-table for learning (e.g., "9:45-10:30, Math") but the children are working at a variety of subjects and activities (Dearden 1976: 42).

Mrs. Williams does not have an "integrated curriculum", however, since the subjects are separated from one another and are not subordinated to a unifying theme or topic (e.g., a study of their neighborhood through which the children would learn reading, writing and number skills as part of the same project). Mrs. Williams uses what is called a "differentiated curriculum" because reading is taught separately from math, and other subjects, although there is a certain amount of overlap and integration. Dearden (1976: 44) advocates the use of some differentiation, at least for reading and writing, on the basis that there are "undiscoverable conventions" involved in these areas, and for mathematics since sequential skills need "practice and corrections".

There are bound to be advantages and disadvantages to any teaching method, and one must weigh for oneself where the balance lies. Mrs. Williams has developed a teaching style which combines various experimental concepts as well as traditional approaches into a practicable plan. In what follows I discuss certain aspects of her teaching with an eye toward their positive and negative effects.

A significant aspect of her teaching which is built into the very structure of the school building is that of the semi-open plan. The most obvious advantage to this approach is that space is able to be used more fully and flexibily. A daily example of this is the multiple use of the teaching/dining area as a corridor, work space and dining hall. Another advantage is that it adds to the sense of community of the whole school, since each class is not rigidly cut-off and isolated from each other. An equally obvious disadvantage is the problem of noise. Because of the openness of the building noise travels easily from one class to another. Teachers must therefore coordinate their affairs with one another so that everyone is noisy or quiet at about the same times. This coordinating (which in itself produces a certain sense of community among the staff) is nonetheless very difficult and often almost impossible. One class is therefore likely to either distrub other classes and/or be restricted in its own endeavor. This problem works against the very flexibility of space and time which the integrated day is designed to work toward, and thus there arises a constant struggle.

Mrs. Williams use of the integrated day, i.e. an open-ended time table, had three main advantages. First, the school schedule is contoured to the different needs of the different children at different times.

Second, the equipment can be shared among the students and thus used more efficiently (e.g., one piece of equipment or apparatus might be able to serve the entire class as it's used throughout the day, rather than requiring a full set of everything for each student). Finally, Mrs. Williams use of the integrated day encourage more creative and "learning play activities", which of course make for a more enjoyable day for all concerned. A further benefit of this freer atmosphere was that socialization and language development are fostered through the children's interactions as they chat at their working centers and tables, and as they relate to each other during whole-group activities.

These interactions were not all positive, however, as there was frequent fighting over places on the benches in the quiet area and at other times. But this fighting was generally between the younger children; the older children, for the most part, have either grown out of such bickering and have learned to interact in more socially acceptable ways, or they have at least found ways not to be so obvious. Other disadvantages are that children who are working concertedly may be distracted by those children who are playing (but this was more the exception than the rule). A second disadvantage arises out of the very physical limitation of one teacher with thirty-five students. Since it is difficult to supervise that many children even under the traditional approach, the integrated day aggravates the situation as it diversified the classroom activity. This means that children can waste their time when they are supposed to be working at a task, or otherwise be doing things they are not supposed to do. I observed a fair degree of this problem. For example one morning after play time I saw a boy take the entire period until lunch to drink his bottle of milk in order to avoid going back to work. This case is exceptional, but illustrative.

A much newer part of Mrs. Williams' teaching is that of vertical grouping, which is the practice of having more than one age group in a single class at one time. A primary advantage to this approach is that it can lessen the extent to which a slow child is stigmatized and set apart; it can also lessen the extent to which a bright child is held back by the class. This approach forces greater individually paced learning -- which benefits any child who is outside the middle range of development. Because the class is so diverse it has more opportunities for inducing children to accept diversity, especially diversity in developmental levels. I find it difficult to evaluate whether or not the vertical grouping has accomplished this goal, because I cannot compare the students to last year when there was no vertical grouping. I was impressed, however, with the fairness I observed in dealing with the less mature children or the "trouble makers" when it came to giving out prized or popular activities. Vertical grouping also increases the opportunities for younger children to learn from the older children, both intellectually and socially, and certainly a high level of interaction was readily apparent. But without an in-depth knowledge of child development and a close relationship with each child, it is difficult to say how much of a particular child's behavior is due to simple maturation and how much is due to the interaction with older children.

Some disadvantages of the vertical grouping are that compromises must be made during the few group learning times (e.g., with story reading and songs) to accommodate every level of ability within the class.

This approach also makes it more difficult to chart each child's level of development vis-à-vis her or his average age group. Finally, vertical grouping has not completely replaced competition with cooperation in the educational setting as it is sometimes claimed (Rintoul & Thorne 1975: 109; Hardy 1971: 9). Certainly no mere change in the educational setting can counteract the influence of an entire society rooted in competition. The children in Mrs. Williams' class, for example, are very aware of just what book in the series they and their classmates are in, and they are very anxious to move from one book to another. But vertical grouping does tend to mitigate the competitive leanings of the children, as evidenced by the children's cooperation with one another while working at their tables, or while helping each other through work some of them do not understand.

Another technique of Mrs. Williams is to have each child work individually "at her or his own pace" on all their work (writing, arithmetic, reading and other activities), although they are grouped by ability for seating and management purposes. An outstanding advantage to this is that a child is not held back or pushed ahead by the needs of the group, but they are able to spend more or less time on a skill or concept as needed. This advantage is offset by the fact that each child basically works through the same math or reading series, so this is really a matter only of pacing (rather than of individually tailored work). The children here depend primarily on self-teaching as they work through their math or reading series on their own, but this is supplemented by Mrs. Williams questioning and prodding as well as by her extra work assignments or activities. Although this makes for more personalized attention with each child, the actual frequency of such interactions is low, and whatever there is is likely to be interrupted or hurried due to the needs of other children. Also, although the children are not held back by the needs of the group in this arrangement, they may however be held back by waiting for the teacher to check their work or to answer their questions. Finally, it may be observed that this approach requires a great deal of spontaneous teaching methods (e.g., asking and answering questions) which can never replace entirely the cohesiveness and comprehensiveness of a planned lesson (e.g., in teaching reading, a planned lesson enables silent reading before each oral dissertation, work attack strategies besides "sound it out", or various follow up activities). There are great benefits to individualized instruction, but with a class ratio of 1 to 35, I advocate the use of small group teaching along with individual and large group instruction.

Finally, Mrs. Williams was quite traditional in directing the activities of the children. This has the strong advantage that the teacher is able to achieve a balance of activities and to ensure that each child spends as much time on the basics (reading, writing and mathematics) as is appropriate for her or his level of development. The disadvantage is that the teacher sacrifices some opportunities for capitalizing on a child's interests "at the moment". A sensitive and flexible teacher should be able to accommodate for this, however, within structured experiences.

Mrs. Williams appeared to be such a flexible and sensitive teacher, so that a word about her teaching style is in order. First, she has a genuine interest and affection for the children. When a child is speaking to her she listens attentively, looking directly at the person who is speaking and leaning slightly forward. She always responds with comments and questions. She is kind to her pupils and she encourages them to be kind to others and to all living things as well. She listens and sympathizes with someone who is hurt or crying, and she does her best to solve the problem if she can (but neither is she overly swayed nor manipulate by tears). She is firm and will raise her voice to reprimand an individual or the class as a whole when necessary to maintain order or to insure that courtesy is shown to someone (but I never observed what I felt to be harsh or unreasonable behavior towards a child). Her aim in disciplining a child is to correct the misbehavior, not embarrass the child in front of her or his peers. She will often speak softly when talking to the class so that the children must be quiet and still in order to hear her. Finally, she uses things that come up in children's conversations, "telling", stories and songs to create a learning situation and to prompt creative, critical thought.

In conclusion, Mrs. Williams has blended together a variety of innovative teaching methods (integrated day, semi-open plan, vertical grouping and individual pacing) with more traditional approaches (directed learning) to effect a positive posture and presence in the classroom. Her position on the middle ground represents a good synthesis and healthy integration of the current literature and recommendations in the field of education.

## References

Ashton, Patricia, Pat Kneen and Frances Davis
1975 Aims Into Practice in the Primary School. London: University of London Press.

Bennett
1976 Teaching Styles and Pupil Progress.

Brown, Mary and Norman Precious
1968 The Integrated Day in the Primary School. London: Ward Lock Educational.

Central Advisory Council for Children (England)
1967 Children and Their Primary Schools. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Cook, Ann and Herb Mack
1971 The Teacher's Role. London: MacMillan.

Dearden, R.F.
1976 Problems in Primary Education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Dempster, J.J.B.
1973 What's Happening in Primary School? Newton Abbot: David and Charles.

Geddes, Norman (ed.)
1973 Primary School Handbook. London: MacMillan.

Hardy, Maureen (ed.)
1971 At Classroom Level. Leicester: P.S.W. (Educational).

Haslom, Jenneth
1971 Learning in the Primary School. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Kitwood, Tom and Marie Macey
1977 Mind that Child! London: Writers and Readers Pub. Co-op.

Matthews, Julia (ed.)
1975 Trends in Primary Education. London: Peter Owen.

Peters, R.S. (ed.)
1969 Perspectives on Plowden. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Pluckrose, Henry
1975 Open School, Open Society. London: Evans Brothers.

Rintoul, K. and K. Thorne
1975 Open Plan Organization in the Primary School. London: Ward Lock Educational.

Schools Council Publication
1972 British Primary Schools Today 1. London: MacMillan.

Weber, Lillian
1971 The English Infant School and Informal Education. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Whitbread, Nanette
1972 The Evolution of the Nursery-Infant School. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

# Junior Schools and Infant Schools:
# A Comparative Study*

by

Colleen McDonald

Since the publication of a report entitled Children and their Primary Schools (1967; commonly known as the Plowden Report) teaching methods in British primary schools have been re-examined by educationalists and parents (Bennett 1976). This report

> welcomed the introduction and proliferation of more progressive or informal methods, with their stress on enhanced pupil choice in work, greater freedom to move and talk, group work, integrated rather than separate subjects and a general diminution in teacher direction and control (Bennett 1976: xi).

Plowden's recommendation for change occurred within the context of a gradual elimination of the "11+" examinations, standardized tests, given to children at the age of eleven, which determined placement in college preparatory or vocational secondary schools. Primary schools which had previously followed the narrow path of "working to" the 11+ were now theoretically free to experiment with some of the elements of informal education, such as the expanded curriculum and the emphasis on pupil self-direction recommended by the Plowden Report.

Perhaps because of the limiting effect the 11+ examinations once exerted upon the junior school curriculum, junior schools (for children aged 8-11) have, as a whole, proceeded more slowly than infant schools (for children aged 5-7) in adopting the methods and the philosophy of informal education (Weber 1971). There was a pre-Plowden optimism that

---

*I wish to thank the following people for providing me with infant and junior class data: Jane Antunes, Ce Cole, Randi Robinson, and Janice Sonkin.

> within the last ten years 1954-64 it is in the junior schools that some of the most significant advances have been made (Broughton 1964: 12)... changes which... [are] closely allied to those which...[have] taken place in the infant schools (Broughton 1964: 14).

However, this statement, plus Plowden's assertion of the spread of informal methods among junior schools (1967) come into conflict with later views:

> It seems that the primary school innovations of recent years, non-streaming, activity methods, and the integrated day, have taken firm root amongst the teachers of younger children but are relatively feeble among teachers of senior primary classes (Nash 1973: 49).

And similarly:

> It is clear that although the books and articles written about junior schools are exciting and indicative of new thinking, in practice, schools concretely expressing such thinking are still the exception (Probert 1971: 7-8).

Given this background, the purpose of the following study is threefold: First, I intend to investigate the informality of four West Yorkshire junior level classes. Second, I will analyze the junior classes in terms of a comparison with four West Yorkshire infant classes. Third, I will investigate encountered differences between the infant and junior levels.

## Data Collection Procedures

My data was primarily collected through participant observation at Rawdon Littlemoor Infant and Junior School, in Rawdon, Leeds England. Rawdon Littlemoor, built in 1878, was originally designed as a secondary school, and it is for this reason that I selected the school -- I was interested in observing the practice of informal education within the context of a school designed for whole class teaching and teacher-directed learning (i.e., in a school designed for "traditional" education). I was based in Mr. Lee's* class of 8- and 9-year-olds, in which I spent a total of nine full (6-1/2 hours) and three half (3 hours) days, spread out over a period of four weeks.

In addition, I observed three other junior level classes. I spent one full day in Ms. Reed's class of 8- and 9-year-olds, at Ferniehurst First School (for children aged 5-9), in Baildon. I spent another full day in Ms. Hill's class of 8- and 9-year-olds at Bankfoot First School, in Bradford, and one half day in Ms. Cook's class of 10- and 11-year-olds, at Rawdon Littlemoor. In addition, I spent one half day in Ms. Jackson's infant class, 5-6-year-olds, at Rawdon Littlemoor.

In addition to my own observational data, I have made use of information collected in other classes during the four-week period in which I made my observations. I have utilized the field notes of Jane Antunes (Ms. Jackson's class, and Ms. Gordon's class, 5- and 6-year-olds, Rawdon Littlemoor) and Randi Robinson (Ms. Cook's class, Rawdon Littlemoor). I have also made use of information provided by Ce Cole (Ms. White's class, 6- and 7-year olds, Ferniehurst) and Janice Sonkin (Ms. Brown's class, 6- and 7-year-olds, Bankfoot).

Given my limited data, it has been difficult to make generalizations about individual classes, much less generalizations about junior classes as a whole. Particularly when describing the classrooms of Ms. Reed and Ms. Hill, I have tried to focus my observations on the elements I found to be present, rather than on those I found to be lacking. In addition, I have frequently qualified my observations with the phrase, "on the day I observed."

---

* The names of the four junior level and the four primary level teachers have been changed in this report.

Before continuing, I wish to point out that the four junior level classes I observed by no means represent a cross-section of junior classes as a whole. Where I have made generalizations about the junior school, I have tried to offer supporting evidence from the literature and corresponding observations from my field work.

## Informal Education

A paper concerned with the manifestations of informal education must, necessarily, contain a definition of informal education. For this definition, I refer the reader to the quotation cited earlier which states, informal methods...

> stress ... enhanced pupil choice in work, greater freedom to move and talk, group work, integrated rather than separate subjects and a general diminution in teacher direction and control (Bennett 1976: xi).

These, as I see it, are the elements which form the basis for informal education. In the following section, the rationale behind each of these elements, as provided by Plowden (1967), preceeds a description of the manifestations of each of these elements in the four junior level classes.

The philosophy of informal education set forth in the Plowden Report is based on a trust in the child. "Piaget's observations," it is stated, "support the belief that children have a natural urge to explore and discover, that they find pleasure in satisfying it and that it is therefore self-perpetuating"(Plowden 1967: 530*). In other words, curiosity and a desire to learn need not be extrinsically aroused, for they are tendencies inherent in the child. The report goes on to say that a child is most apt to succeed in learning when the skills or concepts involved serve his immediate purposes (Plowden 1967). For this reason, children should be allowed to choose activities "within a carefully prepared environment (Plowden 1967: 530)"

---

* In each case, the number referred to after the Plowden Report date is the paragraph number, rather than the page number.

> Some infant schools are now confident enough in the value of self chosen activity to give...[most of] the day to it... The tendency is spreading in junior schools. Children may plan when to do work assigned to them and also have time in which to follow personal and group interests of their own choice (Plowden 1967: 536).

The opportunity for free choice of activity among the children was largely absent in the four junior level classes I observed. In Mr. Lee's and Ms. Reed's classrooms there were posted, weekly schedules, with every minute accounted for by a teacher-chosen activity. The only provision for individual choice amounted to 1-1/4 hours, once a week, in Ms. Reed's class; during that time, Ms. Reed allowed her pupils to select educational games.

Ms. Cook's weekly schedule was not posted, but her observers have failed to note a regularly-scheduled free activity period. (In one instance, however, a boy who had finished his assigned work was allowed to paint.)

Ms. Hill's posted schedule also lacked a free choice period, but it included several gaps, in which no particular activity was specified. Insufficient data prohibits me from generalizing as to how these gaps are regularly filled, but on the day I observed, the largest gap in the schedule, the whole of Friday afternoon, was filled with teacher-directed activity -- a creative writing assignment and a story reading session.

Another dimension of free choice involves time management, the freedom to decide when to complete daily assignments. This freedom, also, was lacking in the four junior classes. In Ms. Reed's class everyone worked on the same assignment or in the same subject area at the same time. The other three teachers assigned different tasks to different groups of children. During the course of the week, each child eventually worked on the same tasks except in Ms. Hill's class, the only class in which most of the work was assigned by ability groupings. [Mr. Lee and Ms. Cook both used mixed ability groupings, and Ms. Reed used both ability and mixed ability groupings.] In Ms. Reed's class, some of the assignments were peculiar to one or two groups, but other assignments rotated among the three groups. The child could only work on weights and measures, or spelling, for instance,during the period in which that particular task was assigned to his or her group. The only time children were allowed to choose among assignments was during catch-up periods, in which they could work on any assignment that was unfinished.

Freedom of choice within academic assignments, also, was lacking. In math Ms. Reed usually assigned specific pages to be completed. In the other classes, selection of specific math (or reading) cards (or workbook pages) was limited, theoretically at least, to those cards commensurate with an individual's ability. The only academic area in which there was an element of choice, in some classes, was the area of "topics," a category the teachers used to encompass science and social studies. In Ms. Cook's class, Ms. Cook selected broad categories, like "birds," based on her students' interests, then allowed each child to research any aspect of the topic which interested him or her. However, in Mr. Lee's class, there was no choice involved in the topic work. Mr. Lee chose particular articles and had the children copy them in their individual "topics" booklets.

Another aspect of informal education is the use of instructional groups. In the words of the Plowden Report (1967: 757):

> Groups of three to fifteen pupils are good for many kinds of school work. In this way children learn to get along together, to help one another and realise their own strengths and weaknesses, as well as those of others. They make their meaning clearer to themselves by having to explain it to others and gain from opportunities to teach as well as to learn.

As has been already mentioned, the four junior teachers based their assignments on either the class as a whole or on established groups (ability, mixed ability) of children. But although several children would be working on the same assignment at the same time, each child usually worked individually. (In one instance, however, Ms. Cook allowed pairs of children to work together on a craftsmen report and painting.) In weights and measures, an area particularly subject to discrepancy (one child might measure the same blackboard three times and come up with three different measurements) children were never encouraged to work together and compare results. In areas such as math, where children were working at different levels, there was no open encouragement by the teacher for more advanced pupils to help less advanced ones. Mr. Lee, in fact, once made the comment, "If you need help, ask me or Colleen. Don't go asking each other." Thus, it appears that the four teachers used the group system as an organizational expedient, rather than as the learning tool that Plowden intended it to be.

Yet another aspect of informal education is the concept of integrated rather than separate subjects. In the words of one educationalist, in informal classrooms -

> heed is paid to Whitehead's statement that the curriculum should be conceived of as 'a seamless robe of knowldege, and the division into separate subjects is increasingly seen as an adult concept not easily acceptable to children (Mallinson 1975: 196).

This concept of the interrelatedness and interdependence of all subject matter, touched upon briefly by Plowden (1967) is known in primary school terms as the "integrated day."

In Mr. Lee's class there was very little overlap among subject areas. The children drew pictures to accompany topic assignments, but they were never encouraged to use paint, clay or fabric to enlarge upon the topic by creating a piece of art, rather than simply making an accompanying sketch. During one art period the children constructed buildings which were displayed as a village scene at Parents' Night; the project was solely an art activity, with no tie-in by Mr. Lee of language (i.e., creative writing) or social studies skills. The only linking of subject matter I observed in Mr. Lee's class occurred, briefly, during an art period: before the children made butterflies, Mr. Lee's questioning drew out the difference between moths and butterflies (science), and the concept of symmetry (math).

The concept of the integrated day was much more in evidence in the other three classes. A portion of Ms. Hill's classroom contained a jungle scene, made by the children, complete with construction paper trees and stuffed lions. A bulletin board displayed stories, which looked like they had been partially based on factual information about the jungle, which described an imaginary jungle and the natives who inhabited it. Through this jungle project, Ms. Hill had integrated social studies, art, and language.

In Ms. Reed's class, Ms. Reed introduced math into a cooking lesson by asking the children to convert grams of flour to ounces; she also had the children use a balance to weigh equal amounts of flour and sugar. By means of a vegetable planting project, she united mathematics and the recording of scientific observation. In a bulletin board display, she used student artwork (paintings fold in half, thus creating an ink blot effect) and the letters of the alphabet to bring out the geometric concept of symmetry.

Lastly, in Ms. Cook's class, Ms. Cook once assigned the children to write a story about a carnival fantasy scene they had enacted during a physical education period. Also, through a field trip to a folk museum, Shibdon Hall, she integrated the subjects of social studies (18th and 19th century crafts), art (student paintings of craftsmen), language (student descriptions of craftsmen's work), and geography (a student-made map showing Shibdon Hall's location).

A method closely connected with the integrated day is the "discovery" method of learning, or the "learning by doing" approach. In the words of the Plowden Report:

> Activity and experience are often the best means of gaining knowledge and acquiring facts... we...would not wish to undervalue knowledge and facts, but facts are best retained when they are used and understood (Plowden 1967: 529).

> The sense of personal discovery influences the intensity of a child's experience, the vividness of his memory and the probability of effective transfer of learning (Plowden 1967: 549).

The range of "learning by doing" activities varied from class to class. The most outstanding examples are Ms. Reed's planting and baking projects. However, the baking project, at least, was extremely teacher directed. Ms. Reed supervised the measuring and the mixing, giving oral directions rather than handing the children a recipe, and she was the one who turned on the range, put the cakes in the oven, and determined when they were done.

Field trips were utilized, to varying extents, by Mr. Lee and Ms. Cook. Mr. Lee devoted a morning to a visit to a Quaker chapel and subsequent, individual write-ups, and Ms. Cook used a field trip to Shibdon Hall Folk Museum as the basis for several weeks' work.

The utilization of activity-oriented and practical math also varied from class to class. Both Mr. Lee's and Ms. Cook's rooms contained a set of cuisenaire rods, math manipulatives, and some of the math work cards directed that the rods should be used to work out problems. However, the children in both classes were never observed to actually use the cuisenaire rods. In contrast, the children in Ms. Reed's class spontaneously selected popsicle sticks and used them as counters.

Each of the four classes spent time on activity-oriented weights and measures work. The children in Mr. Lee's and Ms. Cook's classes, for example, used individually made compasses, measured grams, and balanced weight on balances. These activities, however, were merely academic exercises, as they did not, in themselves, relate to practical situations.

## Teaching Styles

Another aspect of informal education is a diminution in teacher direction and control. The role of the informal teacher is thus described in the Plowden Report:

> Sensitivity and observation are called for rather than intervention from the teacher. The knowledge of children gained from 'active' observation...gives common ground for conversation and exchange of ideas which it is among the most important duties of teachers to initiate and foster (Plowden 1967: 527).

The report goes on to say,

> The teacher who used to give set lessons could manage on a little knowledge and use it over and over again. Far more knowledge is called for in informal teachers who have continually to exercise judgement, to 'think on their feet'... They have to...focus attention on enquiries which will lead to useful discovery, to collaborate with children, to lead from behind (Plowden 1967: 875).

A general pattern of the teaching styles of the four junior class teachers emerges from the following table, analyzing verbal behavior. (See Table 1.) Comparable data from one infant class teacher, Ms. Jackson, is also included. While the data from one infant teacher are hardly sufficient to indicate a general trend among infant classes, these data can be said to form the basis for a tentative comparison between infant and junior class teaching styles.

TABLE 1

Teaching Styles in Four Junior and One Infant Classes
as Revealed by Type of Verbal Behavior

| | Disciplinary | | Instructional | | Praising | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | % Total | Number | % Total | Number | % Total | Total |
| Mr. Lee | 48 | 73% | 15 | 23% | 3 | 4% | 66 |
| Ms. Reed | 29 | 51% | 25 | 44% | 3 | 5% | 57 |
| Ms. Hill | 18 | 38% | 28 | 60% | 1 | 2% | 47 |
| Ms. Cook | 14 | 27% | 22 | 42% | 16 | 31% | 52 |
| *Ms. Jackson | 38 | 25% | 99 | 66% | 13 | 9% | 150 |

* Infant class teacher

The data are my own, and they were collected during the course of a day's (or morning's) observation of each teacher. The comments recorded, questions as well as statements, were categorized as follows: 1. Disciplinary--corrective comments having to do with a pupil's behavior (e.g., "sit down," "be quiet"). 2. Instructional--instructive comments having to do with a pupil's schoolwork (e.g., "underline this title," "how did you do this problem?"). 3. Praising--positive comments having to do with a pupil's behavior or his schoolwork (e.g., a "good" elicited by a pupil's correct response to a teacher's question, or, "what a nice story!").

The comments were recorded in the context of various work sessions in which pupils were individually working on assignments. As a whole, each set of comments accounts for roughly two hours' worth of time. Ms. Reed's comments, however, were made over the course of 1-1/2 hours, and Mr. Lee's comments were made over the course of 2-1/2 hours. Only comments made to individuals were recorded. That is, I did not record comments made to the class as a whole, such as, "No noise now." Comments recorded in the instructional category were those made as a result of teacher, not pupil, initiative. In other words, I recorded comments made spontaneously as the teacher engaged in general supervision -- sitting at his or her desk or circulating around the room -- and not comments made to individuals who came to the teacher to ask a question or to have work checked. The instructional category is the only category in which number of comments does not refer to the literal number, but, rather, the number of interactions. That is, if a teacher spent several minutes explaining a concept to a child, I recorded this as one interaction, reather than as a larger number of individual comments.

This record of verbal behavior was used in the compilation of the following descriptive sketches of the teachers.

Mr. Lee was 65 years old and due to retire next year. He received his teacher training during a year's "crash course" following the end of World War II, when there was a shortage of teachers. In his classroom he was an authoritarian leader, as the following comments indicate: "You wait for the word of command; don't go off on your own" [made in the context of a physical education session], and "Don't tell me what you're going to do, I decide." Mr. Lee regularly lectured to the class, calling on children to answer factual questions but failing to encourage discussion. His general policy for checking work was to have children bring completed assignments to his desk. He rarely gave instructional help while circulating around the room, and most of the comments he made while he circulated were disciplinary rather than instructional His use of praise was sparing, to say the least. (See Table 1.) He allowed children to get up out of their seats without permission, although he often criticized seated individuals for sitting improperly (kneeling on chairs, not sitting up straight). He did not insist upon complete silence during work periods, but he often asked pupils who were talking to get on with their work, and he once called an art period to a halt because children were freely talking to their neighbors.

Ms. Reed was in her late 40's. In order to raise a family, she temporarily left the teaching profession, and at the time of my observation, she had been back in teaching for six years. During the one lecture/discussion I observed in Ms. Reed's class, Ms. Reed did most of the talking. She called on children to answer factual questions but did not provide opportunities for discussion. She went from desk to desk, checking work, but, like Mr. Lee, the majority of comments made during her wanderings were disciplinary rather than instructional. In addition, her use of praise was limited (see Table 1). During academic work, she had the children remain at their desks. She repeatedly asked individuals who were talking to get on with their work, and she once commented, "I never saw a group of children who used their tongues to get out a set of books."

Ms. Hill was in her late twenties. Her entire teaching career had been spent in the school in which I observed her, but she was about to move to a team teaching position in another school, by way of promotion, she told me. The one lecture/discussion I observed in her class was a prelude to a creative writing assignment, in which Ms. Hill sparked a general discussion by asking the children to imagine what would happen if some of the school dinners mysteriously disappeared one day. On the day I observed her, Ms. Hill spent less time than the other teachers checking pupils' work -- she told me she often used part of the dinner hour and a half to mark papers -- but her comments to individuals were more often instructive, rather than disciplinary. She, too, made few praising remarks (see Table 1). Although she allowed children to work outside the room, she selected the individuals who were allowed to go. Although Ms. Hill did not insist upon complete silence while the children were working, the noise level in the room rose considerably when she left the classroom and then dropped just as drastically as soon as she stepped back in the door.

Ms. Cook was also in her late twenties, and, before teaching in her present position, had taught in a secondary school. Ms. Cook was observed both to give lectures, providing factual information and relying on only a limited amount of student input, and to encourage discussion, listening to pupils' contributions as well as sharing her own views. She checked work brought to her desk and also checked work while circulating around the room. On the day I observed her comments to individuals were more often instructional than disciplinary. Unlike the other three teachers, she made free use of praise (see Table 1). Although she allowed children to move around the room, she often made comments which directed the children to work silently.

In summary, the four junior level classes have been seen to manifest a limited amount of pupil freedom of choice, a varying range of learning by doing activities, a varying degree of subject integration, a limited amount of pupil cooperation on assignments, and a varying degree of teacher control.

### Junior and Infant Classes Compared

The previous section having yielded a general picture of four junior level classes, let us now look at these same classes in relation to their infant class counterparts. The observation found in the literature is that junior classes, as a whole, tend to be less informal than infant classes. As stated earlier, one writer has asserted that the innovations of informal education "have taken firm root amongst the teachers of younger children...but are relatively feeble among the teachers of senior primary classes" (Nash 1973: 49). In addition, a national survey completed by 1,512 primary school teachers has yielded the following information:

> Teachers in infant schools, more often than teachers in junior schools, agreed with progressive approaches to teaching and chose one or other of the progressive descriptions as closest to their own approach. Teachers in junior schools just significantly preferred a traditional role (Ashton 1975: 78).

The following tables (see Tables 2 and 3) provide a comparison of the infant and junior class data collected during the course of the four-week field study. The "traditional" and "informal" elements listed in Table 2 were taken from descriptions of traditional and informal (or progressive) classrooms found in Bennett (1976: items 1, 5-8, 13-17), Weber (1971: items 2-4, 9, 18), and Broughton (1964: items 10-12, 19-20). Data concerning the four infant classes were provided by the participant observers who were based in those classes during the course of the field study. The infant classes that were selected came from the same schools as the four junior classes in order to avoid an unfair junior class comparison with randomly-selected infant classes that just happened to come from progressive schools.

TABLE 2

Comparison of Four Junior and Four Infant Classes on Dimensions of Traditional and Informal Educational Practices

| | Traditional | Informal | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Physical Structure | | | Physical Structure |
| 1. Assigned seats | R,L,w | H,C,j,b,g | 1. Seating choice |
| 2. Desks in rows | R | H,C,L,j,b,g,w | 2. Desks otherwise |
| 3. Activity restricted to classroom | L,C,R,w | H,b,j,g | 3. Activity overflow outside classroom |
| 4. No interest tables | L.H,R,w | C,b,j,g | 4. Interest tables |

TABLE 2 (cont.)

| | Traditional | Informal | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Freedom of Interaction** | | | **Freedom of Interaction** |
| 5. Restricted movement | H,R | C,L,j,b,g,w | 5. Free movement |
| 6. Restricted talking | L,C,R,w | H,j,b,g | 6. Free talking |
| 7. Cooperation discouraged | L,R,w | C,j,b,g | 7. Cooperation encouraged |
| **Individual Development** | | | **Individual Development** |
| 8. Creativity rarely encouraged | L | H,C,R,j,b,g,w | 8. Creativity emphasized |
| 9. Academic or non-academic activity | L,H,C,R | j,b,g,w | 9. Simultaneous academic and non-academic activity |
| 10. Same assignment for all | L,w | H,C,R,j,b,g | 10. Different assignments |
| 11. Regular drill | L,C,R,H,g | j,b,w | 11. Drill absent |
| 12. All on same assignment at same time | R | H,L,C,j,b,g,w | 12. Different assignments same time |
| **Organizational Structure** | | | **Organizational Structure** |
| 13. Regular testing | R,w,g | H,L,C,j,b | 13. No testing |
| 14. Emphasis on teacher, teaching | L,H,R,w | C,j,b,g | 14. Emphasis on student, learning |
| 15. External rewards | L,C | j,b,g,w | 15. Intrinsic motivation |
| 16. Separate subjects | L,w | H,C,R,g,b,j | 16. Integrated subjects |
| 17. Lectures-teacher talks | L | H,C,R,g,b,j,w | 17. Discussions-teacher and pupil talk |
| 18. Ability groups | H,R,b,j,w,g | L,C | 18. Mixed ability groups |
| 19. No free time | L,C,w | R,g,b,j | 19. Free time |
| 20. Fixed schedule | L,C,R | H,g,b,j,w | 20. Flexible schedule |

| Jr. Teachers | | Infant Teachers | |
|---|---|---|---|
| C | Cook | b | Brown |
| H | Hill | g | Gordon |
| L | Lee | j | Jackson |
| R | Reed | w | White |

As indicated by the table, the concepts of "formality" (the traditional category) and "informality" (the "informal" category) encompass several dimensions--physical structure, freedom of interaction among children, teacher encouragement of individual development, and organizational structure. Theoretically, a particular classroom categorized as "traditional" in regard to one of these dimensions (e.g., physical structure) could also be categorized as "informal" in regard to another dimension (e.g., organizational structure). In addition, a classroom could be categorized as both "traditional" and "informal" within a particular dimension (e.g., within the dimension of organizational structure, a classroom could be said to manifest the "traditional" element of "external rewards" and the "informal" element of "integrated curriculum ").

It is also important to point out that the cateogires "traditional" and "informal" are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Classrooms categorized as manifesting a particular traditional (or informal) element did not necessarily manifest that element *all* of the time. While *primarily* relying on the (traditional) lecture method, a teacher might also utilize the (informal) discussion method *some* of the time. In addition, some teachers can be said to have achieved a balance in a particular area; for example, a teacher might have made equal use of the lecture (traditional) and the discussion (informal) methods. Where such balances occurred in my sample, classrooms were categorized as "informal," in order to avoid an unfair slant towards the "traditional" side.

Finally, it must be stated that Table 2 is *not* intended to produce a definitive statement about what is traditional vs. what is informal. The table is simply a means of comparing infant and junior class data.

Table 3

Summary of Traditional and Informal Elements in
Four Junior and Four Infant Classes

| | Traditional | Informal | Not enough data |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mr. Lee | 15 | 5 | 0 |
| Ms. Reed | 14 | 5 | 1 |
| *Ms. White | 11 | 9 | 0 |
| Ms. Cook | 7 | 13 | 0 |
| Ms. Hill | 6 | 11 | 3 |
| *Ms. Brown | 3 | 17 | 0 |
| *Ms. Gordon | 1 | 19 | 0 |
| *Ms. Jackson | 1 | 19 | 0 |

*Infant class teacher

As made clear in Table 3, two of the four junior classes were basically traditional, three of the infant classes were basically informal, and the remaining three classes (two junior and one infant) could not be classified either way, owing to the mixture of traditional and informal elements which they exhibited. While the data do not permit the conclusion that all the junior classes were basically traditional, and all the infant classes were basically informal, they do indicate that, except for one infant class, fewer traditional elements were exhibited in the infant classes than in the junior classes. It can be noted that the only infant class which exhibited a greater number of traditional, rather than informal, elements -- Ms. White's -- came from a school in which the junior class -- Ms. Reed's -- was also basically traditional. Perhaps this correlation is a matter of coincidence, but it is also possible that this "traditionality" was a characteristic of the particular school in which the two classes were found. In this case, at least, the exception of a greater degree of informality in infant, as opposed to junior schools, a characterization provided in existing literature (Nash 1973, Ashton 1975), has received some support.

Let us, finally, consider the implications of the increased formality between infant and junior levels. If infant schools are more informal than junior schools, then perhaps junior schools are more informal than secondary schools. This hypothesis is supported in the literature (James 1968, Gordon 1965).

The increase in formality over time would suggest the issue of transition between one educational level and the next. This issue is explored in Chapter 12 of the Plowden Report, "Continuity and Consistency Between the Stages of Education." Plowden (1967: 443) asserts, "It will be...necessary to ensure that there is no sharp break [my emphasis] between 'infant' and 'junior' methods" but fails to specify whether, and if so, how, methods should change over the course of the primary school years. In regard to the transition between primary and secondary school, Plowden's main worry is that the secondary schools would repeat information covered in the primary school, and that the secondary school entrant would, therefore, become bored. Plowden has nothing to say about continuity between primary and secondary school methods.

In a study entitled Classrooms Observed, Roy Nash has offered three possible alternatives to explain the difference in infant and junior school methods. These explanations can be expanded, I think, to partially account for the difference in junior and secondary school methods, as well. First, "the teachers of senior primary classes are often older..., and it is reasonable to assume that older teachers will have been less influenced by the new methods than their younger colleagues" (Nash 1973: 49). This explanation seems reasonable in terms of my own experience -- the two junior teachers (Mr. Lee and Ms. Reed), whose classrooms were categorized as "basically traditional" according to Table 3, were also the two oldest teachers.

A second explanation is that junior "children are older and less easy to control and many teachers find a more formal approach helps their discipline" (Nash 1973: 49). This explanation is in line with Plowden's assertion that a fear of "possible chaos" prevents many teachers from experimenting with informal methods. Also, it can be noted that my two "traditional" junior teachers (Mr. Lee and Ms. Reed) were the teachers for whom I recorded the greatest percentages of disciplinary comments (see Table 1). In other words, they were both concerned about discipline.

The third, and last, explanation is that "teachers often wish to prepare their pupils for what they believe are the more formal techniques practised in the secondary school" (Nash 1973: 49). To some extent, this explanation was corroborated by Mr. Eades, the headmaster of Rawdon Littlemoor. In an interview, he disclosed that, while he was against the idea of structuring for "someone else" (ie., the secondary school), he felt it was only "polite" to "somewhat" prepare the juniors for a more structured secondary school. In contrast, the teacher of one of the top classes at Rawdon Littlemoor, Ms. Cook came out against the practice of formalizing top junior classes in order to ease the transition to secondary school. "I think they [the secondary school] should change to suit us," she told me. "They have desks in rows and the subjects are class taught, not individualized like here. They're going against everything we've worked for here. But, they're [college and university entrance] exam oriented. And, that's the system."

In my opinion, the trend towards an increasing formality at successive levels of education reflects an increase in the number of limitations encountered as individuals proceed through the school system. When young children begin (nursery) school, they are only just beginning to "develop concepts of causal relationships, the power to discriminate, to make judgements, to analyse and synthesise, to imagine and to formulate" (Plowden, 1967: 523) -- in short, they are only just beginning to make sense of the world in which they live. In pre-school classes children are encouraged to "mess about" with concrete materials and with other children (Plowden's definition of play), to use and thereby develop their senses, and to explore the natural environment around them. Because very young children still have "everything" to learn, there is little concern about directing their learning towards anything but broad concepts, e.g., the distinction between "big" and "little," or the relationship between cause and effect. Without rigid standards specifying what their pupils have to learn, and by when, nursery school teachers can afford to give children free rein, to let them "mess about" to their hearts' content, doing what they want, when they want.

When children move on to primary school, they are expected to acquire definite skills, skills which will enable them to survive in, and to make sense of, the world in which they live. In the primary school the nursery child's "play" -- a general exploration of the environment -- is gradually replaced by "work" -- the acquisition and the development of general skills, such as being able to read, to write, and to add and subtract. By the time they reach primary school, children are expected to exhibit a certain degree of self-discipline, to be able to "sit still" and to concentrate on given tasks for longer periods of time than they were capable of in nursery school. In addition, a decrease in outdoor play time and/or an increase in the school day sometimes accompany the move from infant to junior school. School-prescribed timetables and/or teachers' expectations create pressures on the primary school child to attain certain skill levels (e.g., being able to read the first primer) in specified amounts of time (e.g., during the time spent in the reception, or beginning primary, class). Primary level children are increasingly called upon to account for their time in school, to demonstrate, in school- or district-wide (standardized) tests their mastery, or lack thereof, of basic skills. Discovery methods, which can lead to the discovery of "trivial ideas" or "inefficient methods" (Plowden 1967), are gradually abandoned at the primary level, as teachers begin directing their pupils toward mastery of those skills and concepts they feel are necessary at that point in time.

Having, presumably, gained a general competence in the area of the "3 R's", the individual moves on to secondary school. Again, the school day is lengthened, and play time, as such, no longer exists. The secondary school pupil encounters concern over specific bodies of knowledge, that is, the information tested on the "O" and "A" level examinations, which determine whether a student qualifies for the Certificate of Secondary Education (the equivalent of an American high school diploma) and which allow certain individuals to enter institutes of higher learning. The primary school concern with general skills thus gives way to the secondary school concern with specific information. The exam-linked curriculum requires that pupils spend a large portion of their time absorbing facts from lectures and from books. If individuals find such activity unrewarding, they are expected to view their pursuits as a means towards the higher ends of receiving the C.S.E. or continuing on to higher levels of education. Thus, individuals who began their school careers in pursuit of "everything and anything" have ultimately found themselves confined to the limitations of the examination.

## Conclusion

This paper began with an investigation of the informality of four junior classes, given the "freeing" effect of the elimination of the 11+ examination and the recommendations for informal education outlined in the Plowden Report. This investigation led to a comparison between the junior classes and four infant classes, in an attempt to ascertain the relative formality-informality of the two levels. This comparison, in turn, led to the consideration of various alternatives to explain the increase in formality between the infant and junior levels.

As previously indicated, the trend towards increasing formality at successive levels of education has been attributed to the retention of traditional methods by older teachers, the fear of older pupils becoming discipline problems, and the influence which schools exert on the levels immediately below them. In addition, as I have pointed out, this trend reflects the increase in the number of limitations encountered as individuals proceed through the school system. Plowden (1967: 493) has asserted, "All schools reflect the views of society." Another writer has observed,

> If the infant school is where the young learn through play, and the secondary school is where they learn through work then the primary school is where the transition from one to the other takes place. This must mean that it is in the primary school that the teacher increasingly acts, not just to put the young in "learning situations," but positively to transmit standards that we want to be passed on to the young (Peters 1969: 103).

In light of these statements, can it not also be said that this trend towards formality reflects society's limitations, the restrictions which individuals encounter as they proceed from childhood to adulthood?

## References

Ashton, Patricia, et al.
1975 The Aims of Primary Education; a Study of Teachers' Opinions. London: Macmillan Education

Bennett, Neville, et al.
1976 Teaching Styles and Pupil Progress. London: Open Books Publishing.

Broughton, C. T. and A. B. Clegg
1964 Education 1954-1964; A report on the development of the Education Service in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Leeds: Chorley and Pickersgill.

Gordon, Violet
1965 What Happens in School. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

James, Charilty
1968 Young Lives at Stake; A Reappraisal of Secondary Schools. London: Collins.

Mallinson, Vernon
1975 An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Education. London: Heinemann.

Nash, Roy
1973 Classrooms Observed. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Peters, Richard (ed.)
1969 Perspectives on Plowden. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Plowden Report
1967 Children and their Primary Schools; A report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England). London: HMSO

Probert, Howard and Christopher Jarman.
1971 A Junior School. Great Britain: Macmillan

Weber, Lillian
1971 The English Infant School and Informal Education. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

## II. Learning and Teaching

Ideological differences between the informal (developmental) and the traditional (instructional) traditions can be prescribed in a variety of ways:

- -- schools should be instructional environments vs. schools should be places of instruction
- -- schools should help children to maximize their own abilities vs. schools should prepare children to meet the requirements of the next educational stage
- -- schools should be child centered vs. schools should be performance centered
- -- teachers should transmit knowledge vs. teacher should impart information
- -- schools should be process oriented vs. schools should be results oriented
- -- schools should evolve standards vs. schools (curriculums) should be standardized
- -- schools should provide materials and situations to support children's intrinsic intellectual curiosity vs. schools should test in order to motivate children to perform
- -- schools should concentrate on learning vs. schools should concentrate on teaching.

Prescriptions such as these could be multiplied and, at a theoretical level, the differences between the two traditions be quite sharply differentiated. Yet, at the level of practice it is quite probable that proponents of traditional and informal education alike would endorse all or almost all of the prescriptions. In practice the prescriptions often become relative differences in emphasis rather than absolutes. Children must both develop as individuals and acquire basic skills. There is always a responsibility to teach both children and subject matter. Standardized curriculums and examinations do not mean individuality is obliterated any more than their absence means there are no expectations about what children should be taught nor evaluations of their progress. The papers in this section explore the processes by which basic skills are designated and acquired within an informal tradition.

Most people think in terms of the three R's -- reading, writing, and arithmetic -- when they think of basic skills. Diana Cohen begins by pointing out they are much less tangible than this. and that communication skills in language fluency are at least as important if not more so. Rachel Herr adds creative expression and discusses the way in which this skill is fostered by an integrated curriculum, the use of the concrete in the environment, and the role of the teacher as implementing the child's purposes -- all emphasized by the informal tradition. Valerie Karny's observations in an infant-junior school's remedial program in reading demonstrates that not all differences in learning are merely differences in rates of development. Some failures to attain basic skills may result from fundamental learning disabilities, such as dyslexia, and require different, although still individualized, teaching methods. Whereas the first three papers focussed primarily on reading, writing and related skills, Jani Lazarow examines the relationship between an informal approach and mathematics education. Supporting Jane Antunes' finding (see Section 1) of considerable similarity amidst diversity, she discusses mechanisms whereby guidelines are transmitted to maintain a comparable math curriculum between schools. In the concluding paper in this section, Barbara Wright discusses issues in the education of the deaf. Educational philosophy as well as degree of impairment, is related to whether deaf children are integrated into regular classrooms or separated, by the traditional methods of managing deaf children.

# A CLOSER LOOK AT BRITISH PHILOSOPHY:

## Reading, Writing, and Readiness Interwoven

by

Diana R. Cohen

Otley, in West Yorkshire, England, is a small market town of 12,000 inhabitants. It is located in a green belted area, which means that the town may not expand past the green belt (grass and hills) that surrounds it. New housing development must therefore expand within the existing area. It is a "market town" because every Monday a cattle market is held in which anyone may purchase cattle, sheep and pigs. Usually the buyers at this market are the farmers and local butchers. Friday is also a market day. Stalls are set up on and near the main street to sell vegetables, fish, clothing, flowers and other items at prices below those in established stores. In such a small town, the people get to know their neighbors well, and this is helpful to the teachers who work and live in Otley who, by knowing a child's home situation, may be better able to understand and therefore better able to work with that particular child.

The school itself is a new building completed in the fall of 1977. The former building was over 100 years old and the town's young population had outgrown it as well as the school building itself deteriorating. The former school included two mobile classrooms to contain the overflow. The new building unfortunately is still inadequate in space, and although it is new, the school staff found that they must have the two mobile classrooms transferred to the new grounds to accommodate all 212 children. The lack of classroom space will be more pronounced next fall as a new housing development next to the school has just been completed and new, young families are moving into Otley.

Otley All Saints First School has seven classrooms: five contained within the building and the mobile classrooms. There is one reception class which serves incoming four-and-a-half-year-olds. It is in this reception class that I did most of my observational work and it is with these very young children that I learned how language development and beginning reading and writing is fostered in a British Infant School.

The school is classified as a semi-open one. The classrooms have curtains instead of doors, and the children in the reception room are free to spill out into the hall play area outside the doorway of their classroom. This hall area contains the block (the British call it the brick) area as well as a small-group project area with child-sized tables and chairs arranged in groups. Inside the large classroom one found tables and chairs arranged in groups (no child had an individual desk) in the center of the room for reading, writing, drawing, and mathematics work. At the far end of the room is a book corner with a large rug, two small padded benches, and three low shelves that display brightly colored books within a child's easy reach.

There is a table near the door that is used for displays; the displays are changed about once a week. Displays arranged by the teacher may be of new books or special topics such as nature findings the class may have collected on a walk: grass, leaves, flowers, acorns and sticks. Sometimes the display is centered around colors or shapes that the children are able to handle and examine at their will.

The teacher's desk -a modern wooden one- stands opposite the doorway positioned in such a way that with the doorway curtains open, she has a view of the brick play area as well as the rest of the classroom. The desk top is usually clear except for the children's reading and writing books as they work with the teacher. Behind the desk stands a tall bookcase which houses the books in the reading scheme as well as supplementary books used, children's progress records, and her own personal poetry and storybooks that she uses daily during storytime to read to the children. Across from the teacher's desk is a blackboard which the children use to write and draw on as much as the teacher does. The children are free to use the board during the day to express their work that they do not wish to be permanent.

The corner next to the blackboard is changed throughout the year to be the "Wendy House" (housekeeping corner) for domestic play, the dress-up corner, a postoffice, store, and, while I was there, a hairdresser's. Painting could be observed in the cloakroom area behind the classroom.

There are thirty children on roll although twenty-six is the usual daily number in attendance. Each child has their own tray (or drawer) to hold their own reading and writing books, name card, pencil, eraser, and dinner money. The trays are grouped in two low cabinets, and the children are able to handle their light plastic trays easily and slide them in and out of the cabinet on their own.

At the beginning of my observational work, I found every child in the reception class reading out of one of the schemed reading books (each child works at their own pace so the children are in many different books) as well as writing their own personal news in their writing books each day. Both activities were carried out by the children routinely and with little assistance from the teacher. This seemed unusual and very advanced to me, as an American who has worked with American reading classes in which the children are just beginning to read and write at the age of six or seven. I spent the next four weeks observing, questioning and working with these four-and-a-half-year-old children in order to discover the philosophy and practice which goes into enabling these young children to read and write before they are five.

## Developing and Reinforcing Communication Skills

It is surely the child's language that really matters when it comes to learning to read. Language fluency before reading is a must. Therefore, the reception teacher must create a rich environment for the children to experience. This environment should provide not only physical comfort and security, but also a rich speech endowment. Thus the child should hear and take part in a great deal of talk (Minovi 1972). When these four-and-a-half-year-old children enter her classroom, the teacher will find that they have certain needs and characteristics as described by Sansom (1965: 3), "Children have an ardent desire for self expression, a gradually developing social sense, a growing tendency to intellectual curiosity, a liking for rhythmical movement and repetition, and an awakening desire for adventure." It is the job of the reception class teacher to try to fulfill these needs of the young children entering her classroom.

Speech education in a broad sense helps to satisfy these needs.

> A good speech program developed by the teacher aids self expression through talks and oral language games, helps the children gain a social sense through discussion, fosters intellectual curiosity through question and answer, encourages rhythmical movement through activity rhymes, and awakens the desire for adventure through news, storytelling and reporting (Sansom 1965: 4).

Reading is deeply imbedded in the rest of the language skills, and is not a separate, isolatable activity. Writing, talking and listening are language uses linked with reading. If reading is not an isolated activity, and is based on language skill then A. Richard's dictum (quoted in the Bullock report) can ring true: "We are all of us learning to read all of our lives." Marland (1977: 25) agrees that "reading is not a once in a lifetime event." This philosophy was reinforced in a discussion the Northwestern students had with headmasters from West Yorkshire Junior and Infant schools. Reading readiness does not start when a child enters school, but begins the day one is born and is introduced to human language, the teachers assured the visiting University students.

The first year of the infant school is usually the stage of formal reading preparation. During this stage the children should have experiences which will help them to develop their powers of visual and auditory discrimination and their levels of spoken vocabulary as well as listening skills (Hughes 1972).

Of course there are those children who when they enter school already possess linguistic skill that is fairly sophisticated. These children can almost unconsciously call upon a variety of words and phrases with which to express themselves. They have something to say because their range of experience has made it possible for them to see and do all kinds of things and then discuss them with articulate adults and peers. They have handled books and seen and heard the words in them even if they cannot actually read them themselves. These children have an enormous built-in advantage, because language expression is already part of their everyday life. Once they begin school they really take it for granted that they are going to learn how to read - if indeed they are not already on their way to doing so. To these children, it is a natural and expected step that they should now learn how to interpret the written form of the language with which they are so familiar (Taylor 1973).

But, there are many children who enter school not having had these advantages. They may, possibly, come from a home in which books are not read, even aloud to the children at bedtime. The teacher I observed said that she has had many such children in her class. This type of children see books in the classroom; they may like the books, being new and attractive to them. The very notion of connecting language as they know it (simple conversation and common demands) with books, let alone of associating themselves with the possibility of reading them, is quite new to them. So then, how does the reception teacher prepare these children for beginning reading?

Active learning (experiences through planned activities), if it is wisely and sensitively employed by the teacher, provides children with strong incentives to learn to read and write while encouraging language development at the same time. For those children who come from less fortunate homes, playing and talking is an essential part of the preparation for learning to read (Goddard 1969).

In the reception class in Otley, the teacher provides experiences to enhance playing and talking in the classroom: water and sand play, creating with junk materials, building with bricks, painting and domestic play. The children sometimes take walks with the teacher and are given time to examine and discuss the living and growing things they see along the way. The book corner is set up in such a way that the children can examine and handle the books themselves and with each other. The experience with the books there is used as a learning activity that stimulates teacher and peer verbal interaction. Curiosity about many different subjects is induced among the children as an outgrowth of these activities.

The class spent a considerable amount of time basing their daily activities around the subject of the seaside during my last two weeks of observation just before school closing for the summer vacation. All of the children had at one time or another experienced a day by the sea; they had played in the sand and water, collected shells and built castles. One Friday during "talk time" (a time when the children have the opportunity to share some personal news or a story with their teacher and classmates) 75% of the children eagerly raised their hands to report that they were going on holiday for the weekend to the seaside. They were very excited about the prospect of going to the beach. The teacher picked up on the excitement and suggested that the children who were going bring back some shells and things to share with the class on their return.

When I returned to observe on Tuesday, the color display on the table near the doorway had become "the seaside". The children had brought in shells, pebbles, seaweed, sand, a starfish, crabshells, and a sea urchin to share with their classmates. They had been arranged on the display table and the teacher had made easy-to-read labels that the children had placed in front of the appropriate objects. This labeling was the teacher's idea under the assumption that such labeling would help to reinforce the idea that written words are the symbols for the words the children verbalize. During that morning, I watched as the children drew pictures and wrote about their weekend experience in their personal news-writing books, thereby making the memory of the experience more permanent. Those children who had not gone to the seaside over the weekend had heard about their classmates experiences during the morning "talk time", and some of these children also wrote about the seaside in their books.

Group project work began that day on a class mural of the seaside, the children drawing and cutting out figures of themselves and placing them in the sand or water on the painted mural. Some of the children drew themselves with buckets and spades for sand play. All were drawn wearing swimming costumes (bathing suits). On Thursday morning the teacher took the class outside in the sunshine to sit on the grass. Once they were arranged in a circle, she produced a white bag that was filled with beautiful large shells, most of them unusually shaped. She passed them around for each child to touch and admire, and to put to their ear to listen for the sound of the ocean. Discussion went on while the shells were being passed around. As the teacher held each shell up, the children helped her to describe it. New vocabulary words and concepts were learned. Shells were described by the teacher as spiral, striped, curved, curly, smooth, flat, large and pointed. The children used these words as they talked about them to their classmates as the shells were handled and passed on to a neighbor:

> Andrea: "Here comes the spiral one!"
> Vicky: "The smooth one is the pretiest."
> John: "This large one is flatter than yours."

It was an experience for the children that encouraged verbalization, cooperation (passing the shells), and listening to each other as well as to sounds (listening for the ocean in the shells). It employed those skills which Sansom (1965), Hughes (1972) and Minovi (1972) feel are so necessary in preparation for reading and writing.

Following this outdoor activity, some of the children became interested in books the teacher had placed on the bookshelf in the corner that were about the seaside. Vicky noticed a spiral shell pictured and, below it, the work spiral. I watched her, as she ran her finger under the letters, sounding the word out. She then turned triumphantly to me, pointing at the page. "This says sprial, like the one we passed around!" The active learning experience about the seaside provided this child with a strong incentive to try to read on her own. This is one of the important goals in the reception class.

In 1967, the Plowden Committee reported:

> Experience and language interact all the time; words come to life in the setting of sensory experience and vivid imaginative experience. It is equally true that experience becomes richer when talked over and recreated... The achievement of many infant schools has been to build on and to extend children's experiences, to provide opportunities for talk about them and to create a warmth of relationships which encourages children to talk and to listen.

I found the seaside unit that the class worked on together to serve as a good example of this philosophy in action in Otley.

The communication skills of listening and talking in a group are reinforced and developed in the reception class. Once a day (usually in the morning) each child is able to be the center of attention during "talk time." In the class at Otley the children sit on the rug and benches in the book corner, facing the teacher who sits in a rocking chair. She calls on individual children, one at a time, to come up and stand next to her, facing the class. Usually with her arm around the child, the teacher asks, "Have you some news to share with us?" The child either nods, says yes, or simply begins to relay his/her news.

Every other child is expected to listen to their classmate speaking and to show the child the respect they themselves expect to receive when they are speaking. If a child is not paying attention, that child is reprimanded by the teacher with the stern comment, "You are being very rude." The child, not enjoying being embarrassed in front of the rest of the class, usually faces front and listens.

If a child does not have a bit of personal news to tell, the child may recite a poem or rhyme to the class; it can be one they have learned previously or one that they have made up themselves. Both are quite acceptable. The purpose of talk time is to enhance the child's verbal and listening skills, to have a time to talk about something knowing that others are caring and listening about what they have to say. The teacher as well as the other children learn a lot about the child speaking, the child's homelife, experiences, joys, and sorrows, through this special time.

Every afternoon, the children return to the book corner sitting to relax after recess, for fifteen to twenty-five minutes, as the teacher reads stories, poems or rhymes aloud to them. Occasionally, this relaxing time is used for singing, which incorporates action nursery rhymes. After, or during, the reading of the story or poem, questions are posed by the teacher and discussion usually evolves, relating the story or poetry to experiences or feelings the children themselves may have had. Again, this type of activity tries to bring out the idea to the children that reading and writing is relevant to their everyday lives and interests.

If these language development activities are directed toward reading readiness, then books must be colorfully displayed, and handling and discussing the pictures in the books must be encouraged. "Children need to be surrounded by books, and encouraged to look at them" (Hughes 1972: 108). The book corner is used throughout the day as a place where the children can play, read their reading books, or read the library books on the shelves. Even those children who had just started in their first reading book came to the book corner to look through the books at the pictures. I observed many of them running their fingers along the written words below the illustrations, making up their own words to go along with the pictures. This activity in itself was important in that the child is recognizing that the spoken and written words are related to what the child is seeing in the picture.

### Reading, Writing and Readiness Interwoven

The purpose of all of the activities that have been mentioned is the promotion of reading readiness. The stage of reading readiness in a child is hard to determine and is of constant debate in books. "But the stage of reading readiness is more likely to manifest itself as a time when one set of skills and abilities and attitudes is merged into another and the child responds to an approach which is a natural outcome, and in many ways a continuation of the activities and the experiences of the preparatory period. It is the time when the child seems to recognise that reading is no longer a mystery" (Taylor 1973: 54).

A basic approach to reading in the British Infant schools is that of a teacher writing under the child's drawings, using the children's own words to describe their pictures (Francis 1975, Goddard 1969, Goodacre 1976, Taylor 1973). Why is this approach so popular? It is in part connected with providing the children with some of the necessary foundation for reading, such as showing them what words are, that they represent their spoken language, that they are - and must be - read from left to right. The teacher also does this in order to help the child to learn to write which puts into action the British philosophy, that reading and writing should go on parallel to each other, and simultaneously. This is known as the Language Experience Approach (Taylor 1973).

The children in Otley began the experience of using writing books to draw pictures in a few months after starting school. Through an interview with the reception teacher, I learned that at first the children are told to draw in their books using only one page each day. The teacher then talks with the children individually about their pictures. When the children have gotten used to drawing in this way, she suggests that she should write under the picture telling what it is about. This writing should be nearly as possible in the children's own words, since the teacher feels that these are the words that they will remember.

Early writing books that I examined had captions under pictures such as, "my baby" and "me and mummy." Two months later, writing by the same child had developed into captions of, "this is my baby playing at home" and "I am going shopping with my mummy." The advancement of the child's language development could be easily noted by comparing writing books of one month to another.

For a while, in the beginning of the implementation of this approach, the children may do no more than accept what the teacher has written under their pictures, and may only remember the sense of what was written when looking at it the next day. They will have taken the first important step of associating written symbols with meaning, and it does not matter at this stage if they do not remember exactly what has been written. After this, the teacher will suggest to the children that they write with a different color crayon over what she has written and in doing this they should be encouraged to write from left to right. When they can do this with some skill, they can take the further step of copying the sentence underneath rather than over the original letters. At the period of my observation, the entire Otley class was working routinely at this final stage. This teacher's method of the Language Experience Approach is almost identical to that described by Goddard (1969), Francis (1975) and Taylor (1973) and Goodacre (1971).

"The fact that writing helps reading, and reading stimulates writing, makes it artificial, in practice, to try to separate the two activities. Teaching the child to write will therefore be dealt with alongside teaching the child to read, on the assumption that the teacher's detailed demand on each child is modified or extended according to his personal capacity" (Goodacre 1971: 18). Even though these two activities (reading and writing) seem inseparable, they need to be examined individually, for the purpose of this paper, to see how they are fostered in the observed classroom.

The teaching of reading and reading skills is accomplished in two ways. The first is individualized instruction. The day in the class is set up in such a way that reading is an ongoing activity. When the day begins, the teacher will ask a certain group (designated as the blue, purple or red groups based on what term they entered school) to please do their reading for her. Children enter the reception class in the term or part of the year in which they will turn five. There are three terms during the school year so that a child may enter in the fall, Christmas or Easter term. This means that new children are constantly coming into the class. For the teacher's own reasons, she does not believe in grouping children according to ability at such a young age. During an interview, she expressed the concern that some children are equal in ability but they might be late bloomers. Placing a child in a certain track or ability level might hamper his or her growth or cause undue anxiety on the child's and the parent's part if he/she is not in the highest group. To avoid these problems, the children are grouped according to their date of birth or what term they entered school. Each day a reading assignment of a page or two is given to each child, based on their individual skills and progress. This assignment is to be mastered by the child and then read aloud to the teacher some time within the half hour that the child's color group is called upon to read. The child may use as much of that half hour as he or she feels is necessary for them to feel confident that they can read their assignment given to them on the previous day.

The children (up to about six at one time) will gather and form a queue (line) around the teacher's desk. One by one they are given the chance to read the page pre- assigned to them. They read aloud the page open before them reading the words as the teacher points to the words with her pen. Some educators tend to assume that children will naturally move their eyes from left to right when learning to read (Taylor 1971), but Goodacre (1971) found this is not necessarily so.

The teacher may well need to help the children to form this habit. She could run her finger unobtrusively along the word or phrase the children are reading to her, casually drawing their attention to the direction in which her finger is moving - left to right, left to right (Goodacre 1971). The teacher in the Otley class used her pen.

If the story the child is reading asks a question such as "Do you have a doll or an aeroplane as your favourite toy?" (from the Through the Rainbow Series), the teacher waits for the child to answer the question in his/her own words. The teacher will often also direct the child's attention to the photograph or picture on the opposite side of the page and ask questions about it.

> "What is the farmer doing in the picture Graham?"
> "He's plantin' the seeds to make 'um grow."
> "Does your daddy have a garden he works in?"
> "Yes and sometimes I help my daddy in the garden."
> "Sometimes you help him do you? And what do you do in the garden, Graham, to help your daddy?"
> "I dig."
> "Oh, you dig? Well that's a big help to daddy, isn't it?"

The teacher in this reception class feels that the more the books relate to what the children have experienced themselves, the more interested and motivated they will become in the reading process. Through discussion like that cited above, the teacher tries to find some aspect of the story the child is reading that relates to the child's own experience. The child is then praised for his or her efforts and assigned the next page. This individualized reading goes on throughout the day. The children are more or less allowed to work at their own pace (time wise) unless the teacher feels that certain children are not working on their reading at all. In that case,those children are usually requested to do their reading work at that time.

The teacher should hear the children read from their books every day. This is the goal of the Otley teacher. Goddard (1969) feels that in the early stages, this is desirable for two reasons. Firstly, when the children are just beginning to read their books, they are remembering rather than reading in the fullest sense of the word. They will be helped to remember more accurately if the teacher can hear them read and refresh their memory everyday. Secondly, children like to feel that they are "getting on" with their book. They will be more successful in doing this if the teacher hears them every day (Goddard 1969).

The main reading scheme used in Otley All Saints is the Through the Rainbow series which is used for all the classes in the school. The stories and subject matter in the early books revolve around young children, their families, homes, their pets, toys, and life in school. The book company's philosophy is that by using situations that are real, familiar and close to the children's own experience, they will capture their interest and bring to life the desire to read. The vocabulary in the books is that of the young child. The words and phrases are those which children use themselves in everyday speech. In the first few reading books there is no punctuation. For example, under a picture of an elephant in one book that I saw a child reading was the sentence, "what does he eat for dinner" without a capital letter to begin the sentence or a question mark at the end. This style appears in other British reading schemes as well under the philosophy that a beginning reader needs his/her attention directed to the words, and that other symbols in the very early stages are more confusing than helpful. None of the books being used in the reception class used punctuation. Learning when to capitalize and add question marks were slowly introduced as the child was learning to write in their news books. The Through the Rainbow series is not used exclusively. There are other schemes available for the teachers to use as supplementary material for children who are experiencing difficulty with the main scheme or who need extra work with similar vocabulary for extra practice before moving into the next book of the main scheme.

There are inevitably difficulties in learning to read a language that does not readily lend itself to consistant phonetic analysis. There is always discussion among reading specialists concerning the controversy over what methods should be employed in the infant schools (Goddard 1969; Taylor 1973, Moyle 1969, Dean 1968, McNally 1968, Hughes 1972, Minovi 1972).

In the classroom I observed, the Look and Say as well as the Phonic method are used. The pre-fives are initially introduced to words by experiencing the Look and Say method whereby the children learn whole word recognition simply on sight, not based on any learned skill other than memorization.

The classroom teacher introduced this method initially by means of a homemade flash card game that was played with the entire class at one time. The teacher took words from the first reading book in the main reading scheme and put them on small cards. The way the children learned these words at first was simply by the teacher showing them over and over again and the child had to try to remember the word by what it looked like - perhaps the shape of the letters or the word in its entirety. When the teacher felt that a child could recognize most of the words, she started the child on the first book in the reading scheme. Some children have trouble recognizing words simply upon seeing them and so by about the third flash card game lesson, the teacher begins to teach the children a method whereby they can try to decipher the word by sounding it out. This method is that of Phonics. The British teachers teach the sounds that letters make and not the names of the individual letters in the alphabet as is the practice in American schools. The children do learn the names for the letters, but not in the initial stage of learning to read.

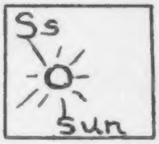
I had an experience in the classroom which emphasized the practice of this type of teaching. I had an occasion to ask a child to spell his name for me. He answered by verbalizing the sounds of the letters that made up his name. He asked me in return to spell my name. I did, in the way that American children are taught - by saying the name of each letter as I wrote it on the board for him to see. He studied what I had written and then corrected my "spelling" by pointing to each letter that made up my name and verbalizing the sound that each letter made. I learned by observing the five-year-old class (the next level) and by questioning the teachers, that when the reception class moves up to the next level in the school, they learn that "sss" is the sound that the letter S makes and it is at this time (when the children are five to five-and-a-half) that they learn the names of the letters. The British teachers I interviewed felt that knowing the names of the letters of the alphabet would not enable a beginning reader to sound out a new word, but that he/she could do so if they were taught what sounds the letters make.

Goodyear (1976) feels that these two methods of teaching beginning reading are necessary ones. She says that progress can be hampered if the children begin to read without having first acquired a flashcard vocabulary which would have enabled them to complete their first book without hesitation. "Children need the pleasure of finishing a book quickly and of being able to make a new start" (Goodyear 1976: 3). Goodyear recognizes that American children learn letter names to begin with as opposed to sounds and feels that this too creates problems when phonics are introduced. She believes that the sounds are important elements in beginning reading. This teaching of the sounds of letters in the early stages is the prevalent practice in West Yorkshire schools. This statement is based on discussion with Northwestern students working in schools spread throughout West Yorkshire and with the headmasters of these schools.

Once the children develop the ability to identify letters by their sounds, they have less trouble identifying easy words (those words that sound the way they are spelled) during the flash card game. Toward the end of the final term of the year, I was able to observe the flash card game. The children were sitting in the book corner area as they do during talk time. The teacher, facing them from the rocking chair held the flash cards face down in her lap. Then she began by saying, "Now, I'm going to hold up a card for you to read and I want you to raise you hand when you know the word." Most children, having seen the words so many times in the past few months, knew every word by sight. A handful still needed to sound the words out aloud to themselves in order to figure out what the word was. But, since they had been taught the sounds of the letters, they were able to attack the word and discover what it was by sounding it out. If the child who is called on can correctly identify the word, that child is given the flashcard to hold as a reward. At the end of the game the child with the most cards in their possession gets to collect the cards from the other children to return to the teacher. This child receives verbal praise from the teacher for winning the most cards and thereby knowing the most reading words for the day. The words that were read during the game I observed were two or three letter words: as, bed, off, sun, was, of, on, sit, lap, put, bus, tan, fan, cat, bag.

The flashcard game aquaints the children with words that they will find in their reading books. It also reinforces words they have already learned and these words then quickly become Look and Say words. The major goal of the game is to get the children to reach the point of being able to identify all the words by sight, without having to sound them out.

Another game that the teacher uses to teach the children reading skills as a class is the letter card game. It is used in connection with learning letter sounds. Letter cards are a home made development by the teacher in the Otley reception class modeled after those that are made commercially. They are usually found hanging on hooks on the wall near the book corner. They are used by the children in the early writing stages. The letter cards are copied by the children into their writing books. The cards are plastic coated 5x7 cards on which the teacher has written a letter of the alphabet, capital and lower case, a word that begins with that letter and a picture of the word. They are modeled like this:



To set up the letter card game, the teacher quietly asks for silence and positions herself in front of the children who have arranged themselves with their chairs in rows in front of the blackboard (although the board is not used until after the game for extra letter and phonic work). The teacher stands before the children with the familiar letter cards in her hands. She holds one up (the letter S card). Hands shoot up in the air.

> "What is the sound, and the word that goes with it?
> Who can tell me? Andrew?"
> "Ssss, for spoon."
> "That's right. Very good. Pass the card back to
> Andrew please."

The children hand the card back to Andrew somewhat roughly. This game, just like the flash card game creates a feeling among the children of competition and they sit on the edges of their chairs leaning forward to be the first to see the next letter card and to raise their hand. As in the flash card game, the child is verbally praised and passed the letter card if the child gives the correct response. If a child is called on and that child does not know the correct answer, a second child is called on to tell the first child what the letter sound is. The first child repeats the sound, and by verbalizing the sound and looking at the picture on the letter card, the child is able to identify the word. Then the first child is awarded the letter card and both the first and second child are praised for their efforts. The second child is then given the opportunity to win the next letter card. So although the game may promote competition, it also enables the children to help and learn from each other. As in the flash card game, the child with the most cards collects the rest from the other children.

After the letter card game it is usually blackboard time. The teacher chooses the letter card for U and holds it up. She asks the class as a whole, "What sound does this letter make?" The children sound out the short Ŭ sound in unison. The teacher continues, "The U sound is in the middle of lots of words. Let's see if you can read some of them today." She writes on the board; "r u n". The children immediately sound the word out to themselves (out aloud) and hands quickly go up. A short dialogue follows:

> "Emma, do you know what this word is?"
> "Run."
> "Very good. The word is run. Rrruunnn" (she sound it with the children.

The next word she writes on the board is sun.

> "We can't see this today. What is it? Neil?"
> "Sun."
> "Yes. Why can't we see the sun today Neil?"
> "It's raining."
> "What's covering the sun Stephen?"
> "The clouds."
> "That's why we can't see the sun. The sun (she points to the word and sounds it out with the children again) is covered up today isn't it?"

During the lesson, words are written, read and verbalized as well as used in a sentence so the child can see more easily the connection between the written and verbal. These class participant games along with the individualized instruction make up the structure of the beginning reading program in this class.

What about the activity that the British feel should go on simultaneously with reading -- that of writing? What is writing? It is two things. One is the "technical skill of actually forming letters in a recognisable outline and of assembling them into conventional word units with spaces in between (a separation which does not occur in speech) and of keeping these units in reasonably straight lines so that they do not obliterate each other; and the question, ultimately, of separating collections of word units with one of several punctuation marks" (Taylor 1973: 87). It is also that which involves original composition -- "thinking of something to write, finding the words in one's vocabulary, solving the problems of discovering how to write them, and finally of putting them together so that they express one's intention and are intelligible to the writer and to another reader" (Taylor 1973: 87). The goal of the teacher observed in Otley is to teach both of these aspects of writing, the technical skill and that of learning to express one's own thoughts, simultaneously and alongside the beginning reading work.

The first requirement when we consider children learning to write, both in the initial stages and as their skills develop, is the vital matter of their having something to write about. This is closely bound up with learning to read, in which the child's linguistic development plays so central a part. Just as the children need activities and interests which give them something to talk about in order to develop their language skills as a foundation for learning to read, so they also need the same extension of their personal and linguistic experience so that they may have something to write about. The acquisition of linguistic experience also increases the ease of self expression which the selection of a pattern of written words requires (Taylor 1973).

The main bit of writing the four-and-a-half-year-olds do is to complete one page every day in their personal newsbook. Each child has in their own drawer, a plastic coated card on which the teacher has written the child's first and surname. Into their newsbooks, the children copy their names at the top of every page. A child's name has an emotional value which helps that child to recognize it quickly (Dean 1968). The children in the Otley class love to copy their name and are proud that they are able to do so themselves. Below their name, there is a space for the day's drawing and writing.

> Often pictures drawn by the children which lead to writing arise from the morning's news during "talk time," the time set aside for the children to discuss with the teacher and their classmates an important event, story, thought or concern. The daily news session has become very common in many primary schools. Its existence and importance depend very much on the growing recognition that talk is important in developing reading readiness skills, and to expand the children's experiences (Minovi 1973: 35).

In the Otley reception class, many pictures are drawn by the children concerning news from their classmates that come out during "talk time." For example, one morning Karen brought in some flowers from home that she shared with the class during the morning's discussion. Many children drew pictures of the flowers later on in the morning in their newsbooks. They then brought their writing newsbooks up to the teacher to dictate a short story about their picture. The teacher wrote it down, just as the child dictated it. Examples of captions under the pictures are:

> Graham: "These are some flowers from Karen's garden."
> Vicky: Karen brought the pansies from her garden."
> Neil: "Pansies grow outside in many colors and feel like velvet."

The children then take the writing books back to their seats and copy the dictation beneath the teacher's writing. They are, in essence, making their own books. These books that the Otley children work on each day are very valuable to them and the children often brought their work over for me to read and admire with them. "Written work has a special appeal as children feel its increased permanancy in comparison to speech and also get a greater feeling of creative achievement when they can repeatedly turn to a piece of work they themselves have written" (Moyle 1973: 133).

The making of such books which contain the child's own ideas, words and sentences is a very important activity in relation to learning to read (Hughes 1972). Also, occasionally, the class works on a class newsbook, into which the teacher writes class news using sentences from the children. The children then take turns (two or three per page) illustrating the news the teacher has written. The class newsbook is read over and over again, as a class, to reinforce vocabulary, phonic skills, and to admire and discuss classmates' drawings and how they relate to the written words. So, again, one can see how intertwined the two activities of reading and writing are in the early years a child spends in the infant school.

The continuity of teaching methods is very important. If the children must change classes, it is essential that the new teacher should receive detailed information concerning the child's previous progress. Passing on the information within an infant school should be easy (Goddard 1969).

Therefore, the recording of the rate of a child's progress is one of the teacher's vital duties. Teachers keep different types of records. Sometimes it is a piece of card used by the children as a bookmark which shows the books read and which page(s) the children read on each occasion they were heard by the teacher. More detailed reports are made by some which record books completed concepts and sounds mastered, and any problems noted, which are extremely useful to the child's next teacher (Moyle 1968). The teacher in the Otley class employed both of these methods in keeping progress records on the children.

Play, "talk time," storytime, and teacher as well as peer verbal interaction encourage children's language development. Confidence and fluency in speech are necessary prerequisites before a beginning on reading and writing can be properly made. Once this confidence and fluency are achieved, reading and writing are encouraged to develop simultaneously and to evolve naturally from the children's own interests and experiences. This is achieved in part by class and personal newsbooks as well as children dictating captions to go under paintings and other creative art work.

It is in the early years a child spends in the British Infant school, that these skills are developed and interwoven. They are ideally developed and reinforced, one upon the other, intermeshing in such a way as to strengthen the others and to further develop them all. When this ideal is realised in the individual child, that child will have a strong foundation on which to build and grow.

## References

Central Advisory Council for Education (England)
1967 Children and Their Primary Schools: The Plowden Report. Vol. I. London: HMSO.

Dean, Joan
1968 Reading, Writing and Talking. London: A & C Black.

Francis, Hazel
1975 Language in Childhood. London: Paul Elek.

Goddard, Nora L.
1969 Reading in the Modern Infant's School. London: University of London Press.

Goodacre, Elizabeth
1971 Children and Learning to Read. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Goodyear, Barbara
1976 Comparison of Educational Methods in English and American Elementary Schools: Trends in Education. London: Department of Education and Science.

Hughes, John
1972 Phonics and the Teaching of Reading. Longon: Evans Brothers.

McNally, J. and W. Murray
1968 Key Words to Literacy and the Teaching of Reading. London: Schoolmaster Publishing.

Marland, Michael
1977 I Read a Book Once. London: Times Educational Supplement, July 15 issue.

Minovi, Ramin
1972 Early Reading and Writing. London: George Allen and Unwin..

Moyle, Donald
1968 The Teaching of Reading. London: Ward Lock Educational.

Sansom, Clive
1965 Speech and Communication in the Primary School. London: A & C Black.

Taylor, Joy
1973 Reading and Writing in the First School. London: George Allen and Unwin.

## Freedom in Education and Creative Expression:
## A Descriptive Study

by

Rachel Herr

In the past 15 years Great Britain has seen a considerable growth in child-centered, "informal" education at the infant level. One of the foremost features of the informal infant school is its integrated curriculum where periods of self-chosen activity such as free play and creative artwork are integrated with skills periods of, for example, reading, writing, and math. The strongest influence making for the free or integrated curriculum has been the conviction of some teachers and educators that it is through play that young children learn (Plowden 1967: 197). The Plowden Report (1967) helped to futher advocacy for the British informal primary schools with the assertion that the aim of school education is the support of natural growth. "Knowledge does not fall into separate compartments and work and play are not opposite but complementary" (Plowden 1967: 188).

Dorothy Gardner's (1966) evaluations of "informal" and "formal" infant schools also helped to establish confidence in the freer, child-centered schools. In several enquiries conducted over a period of 20 years, she found children from infant schools were superior to those from "formal" control schools in tests for: listening and remembering, ingenuity, English (including writing an original composition or poem), free drawing, and painting, and there was little difference in mechanical arithmetic (Whitbread 1972: 124).

Besides the integrated day, another attribute of the informal infant school is the vast amount of creative writing and artwork that is produced, all of which is derived from the personal experience of each individual child. One of the ways of integrating the curriculum is to relate it through the use of the environment to the boundless curiosity which children have for the world about them. Allowing children to explore the concrete in the environment provides a starting point for curiousity, discussion, observation, and ultimately, gives the child something to paint or write about (Plowden 1967: 198-203).

A number of studies have been written on the subject of creativity in relation to the recent stress on child-centered education. Lytton (1971) and Parson (1971), in their studies concerning the effects the differing climates of an "informal" and "formal" primary school have on a child's divergent abilities, both conclude that the informal school climate fosters the development of the child's creative attitudes and abilities. Formal schools with their emphasis on uniform achievement, rigidity of time table, predominance of class lessons, and control of movement were seen as unlikely to encourage the awkward questions of the creative child. Under such rigid time-tabling these questions were dismissed as distracting from the "real" purpose of the lesson (Lytton 1971: 103).

Furthermore, when Lytton repeated the study four years later (1971) he found that the effects of the primary school were irreversible. Regardless of the "climate" of the secondary school the children had since attended, the children who had originally gone to informal primary schools still scored higher on tests for divergence than their formally-trained classmates (Lytton 1971: 98-103).

Science has shown the correlation between informal schooling and creativity. Why all the stress on creativity at this particular period?

This "groundswell" may have risen as a symptom of revolt against the threatening mechanization of man and society, which also shows signs of engulfing the schools. Fantasy, we are discovering, is not alien from reality but is rather an extension of our real lives. Keeping touch with our creative imaginations can add new meaning and new kinds of relationships within our lives, as children and as adults.

The crusade for creativity has also become mixed up with the plea (found particularly in American schools) to produce independent, intellectual and intelligent thinkers rather than merely conforming good mixers (Getzels and Jackson 1971). The emphasis on creativity also coincides with a need, generally felt in Britain as elsewhere, for the schools to emerge from formalism, traditional routine and drill and the straitjacket of conventional subject divisions.

"Innovation" is the rallying cry of this new movement. On the other hand, there is the danger that under the banner of "innovation", "creativity" reigns supreme in the classroom while evaluation flies out the window. Presently there is a great controversy going on in Great Britain over standards in primary education. In the book Mind That Child, Tom Kitwood and Marie Macey assert: "We must also emphasize that we share in the general concern about high standards in reading, arithmetic and English. This booklet is in no way an attempt to question their rightness as educational aims. However, we recognize that they are not the only elements involved in a sound primary education. Creativity, freedom of expression, individuality of thought, social confidence, practical understanding and physical development are significant too. It is misleading to imply that a concern for these is in conflict with the more "academic' requirements" (Kitwood and Macey 1977:11).

The purpose of this study is not to applaud the merits of an informal approach to education in order to downgrade the formal approach. The intent is reather to discuss the aspects of informal education that differ from the formal approach, namely, the loosely time-tabled, integrated day, the emphasis on the environment as a source of learning, and the unique role of the teacher, and to discuss how these functions serve to foster the creative expression of young children. Studies on informal education have commented on the vast amount of creative activity being done (Davis 1971 and Weber 1971) but no qualitative research studies have been devoted specifically to the task of describing the association between the two.

Davis' (1971) study demonstrates the competence of British six- and seven-year olds in creative writing based on personal experience. He cited how classroom practices and school organizational forms such as the integrated day contributed to the effective use of written language. Weber studied the informal infant school as a whole and her study can serve as a theoretical model from which to base the definitions of this research project, and is an equally applicable theoretical model for this study.

For the purposes of this study creative expression will be defined as a form of expression relating to a process of thought where imagination, originality, and a form of thinking which may be divergent are exercised. An essential element of this kind of work is that it should be personal to the creator, with a close association to emotional and intuitive feelings.

Let us return to the question. How can an informal school climate foster creative expression? As an American my main concern in visiting the British schools was "what can we learn from the British that can be applied to American schools"? Being accustomed to the strictly time-tabled authoritarian classroom one asks, how can a young child deal maturely with the freedom of movement characteristic of the child-centered school, and at the same time, how can a child barely old enough to handle a pen acquire the competence to write a story? With these questions in mind I came to Guiseley Infant School in Yorkshire County of England to study infant level (ages four to seven) informal education.

The school where I did my participant-observation is in Guiseley, West Yorkshire, a quiet village of mixed socio-economic background. A fifteen minute walk east of the school brings one to a middle class area of lovely stone homes and farms overlooking thick patches of forest and countryside. A fifteen minute walk west of the school brings one to the working class district characterized by council and semi-detached homes. The entire area is vividly green, much cleaner and quieter than the bustling industrial city of Bradford that lies 30 minutes away by bus-ride, where many of the city's inhabitants go to work in the factories.

The classroom I observed was a class of six-and-one-half-year olds and seven-year olds, Class III of the three top classes (agewise) in the school. There were 30 children, fourteen of them boys and sixteen of them girls, and they were predominantly of working class background. Six of the children were from one-parent families, but it seemed to make no difference in their school performances. One child had a heart murmur and she was immature compared to the others in her height, her speech, and her cognitive abilities (reading, writing and numbers). On the whole, the pupils were attractive, healthy, friendly, well-cared for children, all of whom could read and write reasonably well.

I visited the school for four full days and four half days in the period between June 24 and July 19, 1977. I obtained my qualitative data through participant observation and I supplemented what I needed to know about the philosophy, aims and goals of the school by interviewing the headmistress and the teacher of my classroom.

Before I could determine what aspects of the school fostered creative expression my first concern was to see how well Guiseley Infant School fit in with the informal model as espoused by Plowden and Weber. Here I was at a mild disadvantage because I had no other schools to base a comparison on, yet the interview with the headmistress proved to be extremely helpful. As she and the teacher agree, it is the "head that sets the tone of the school", and her "tone" is very informal. She assessed Guiseley School as fitting the Plowden model but with the stipulation that: "It is an example of freedom of education-but with limits. The child must learn that the classroom is a workshop and it must function properly in order to exist. One cannot expect the integrated day to work if the child is not trained from the start how to handle things."

Thus, for the purpose of this study freedom or self-chosen activity will be defined as the opportunity given to children to structure (within the limitations of their immediate environment) their own learning. Freedom does not mean chaos and confusion.

Next I divided my focus between three areas, the characteristics of which I hypothesised would have some influences on creative activity. These areas were 1) school and classroom organization, 2) the role of the environment, and 3) the role of the teacher. These areas were difficult organizational divisions to distinguish since they are all interrelated, but they help to separate the main factors. My general hypothesis was that within an informal school the integrated curriculum, the use of the concrete in the environment, and the role of the teacher not as authoritarian but as "implementing and opening up a child's purposes" (Plowden 1967: 89) should all foster creative activity in children.

The creative activity I focused on was primarily artwork and writing. The writing and stories I took note of were derived from the personal experiences, impressions, imaginings, and private reservoir of words of the child. The information from my interviews and the observations I made were not translated into measures and variables. The study is to be viewed simply as a descriptive account of the characteristics of one school.

Under the first area of "School and classroom organization" I asked the following questions:

How does the organization of the classroom fit in with the model of the integrated day as espoused by Plowden and Weber?

What is the general routine of the day and how much relation is there between the skills period and the activities period? Do these periods overlap?

What is done during those two periods?

Is there much flexibility in the time-table?

Does the teacher allow for child-initiated spontenaity during slow periods?

Then I examined the actual curriculum and looked at what kind of writing assignments the children did. Were they based on personal experience or the workbook?

I also attempted to get an overview of the freedom of movement from class to corridor and activity to activity. How was order maintained?

announce the assignments of the day, which were generally in the areas of reading, writing, and numbers.

As to when this "talking time" of the day would end, she usually followed the initiative of the children. One day, for example, a child brought in a "Rickishay Racer", a large toy which would shoot out a racing car at a phenomenal speed. "Well," she said, "that's a lovely toy but you really shouldn't have brought it to school because it could be broken. Why don't you shoot it for us now so that you won't be tempted to use it later?" Then she allowed him a space for his presentation. This seemed to suggest a rather loose time-table, since the teacher took the time out for the child to demonstrate the use of his toy.

For the rest of the day each child could follow his/her own individual rate to complete the tasks in whatever order he/she wanted. "I never assign enough to fill the whole day," the teacher revealed, "and that way I make sure they have time to do their own little projects on the side. Some like to do free writing or some artwork for Mummy."

As soon as the children would complete one of the three tasks they would have "choosing time", a time when they could engage in any kind of creative activity. Children often would go to a corner and read, go into the corridor and do some artwork in painting or constructing boxes, or play in small groups on the floor at the front of the room. I noticed as Weber did that "children did not move about all day doing everything. On the contrary, this informal schedule, by not interrupting or cutting across an interest and not going by the clock allowed a child to finish, to extend and develop his interests" (Weber 1971: 89).

This free-flowing day was divided into fixed points where the school did things as a group. For example, assembly-time was at 10:20, and an

Under the second area of "Use of the environment" I asked the following questions:

What is the general appearance of the school's corridors and rooms? Is there children's art work up?

Within the classroom what kind of materials are available for art? Reading? Writing, if any?

How did the teacher make use of the familiar materials in the environment for the child's learning?

How was the environment used to foster creative projects?

Under the third area of "the role of the teacher" I attempted to discover:

How did the teacher see her role and how well did it match the Weber model?

How did she encourage the child to work creatively?

What are her feelings about the importance of creativity?

What did she do to evaluate creative work?

The following are the results of my study.

## School and Classroom Organization - The Integrated Curriculum

The timetable of the day is a key factor in implementing the concept of informal education that stresses the free flow of and wholeness of school living. An infant school timetable can consist of "simultaneous use" periods of free choice for the children from all areas of the environment: sand, water, clay, paint, housekeeping, music, sewing, measurement and weighing, books and games. During activity periods simultaneous use can mean availability of books and numbers as well as other materials. These are the features of the "integrated curriculum" (Weber 1967: 89).

In Class III the teacher would begin the day with a "talking time" which gave the children an opportunity to communicate freely and share their experiences with the class. During this period the teacher would outdoor play period followed until 11:15. Dinner was at 12 with a play period following and so the day progressed. Activity periods were approximately 45 minutes long.

On the last day of my placement I got an opportunity to observe the "spontaneity" of the teacher when there was a slow period with no scheduled activities. It was 3 p.m. and the children had fifteen minutes until outdoor playtime. She had already read a story that day and she needed something that did not require materials (which would have had to have been cleaned up) and so, on the spur-of-the-moment, she suggested that the children prepare a talent show for that quarter of an hour. Six of the girls played their recorders in a short medley of tunes, and the rest of the children took turns doing skits and pantomimes. It was an excellent way to pass the time and it allowed the children to use their powers of spontaneity as well since there was no opportunity to prepare for the show.

Of the curriculum, I paid closest attention to the writing assignments. Out of the seven times I visited the classroom, four of the writing assignments required imagination and creativity. On those 3 days when no creative writing was assigned, one was when the teacher was absent, the second was when the group went on a half-day field trip to a dental clinic, and the third was on the last day of my visit when the morning was taken up by two assemblies. The general rule was that some type of writing was done every day. Usually the children would go into the corridor to make a painting or a model out of clay or boxes to illustrate the subject they were writing about, although this was not a requirement.

The first writing assignment I witnessed was on the subject of "when I grow up I would like to..." Here are some verbatim samples from from these six and seven-year olds:

> When I grow up I would like to be a doctor I am going to stay at school until I am 17 or 18. I am going to live with mummy and daddy and Paul and when I leave I am going to univeisetey and I am going to work in a offic and go to people's houses and give medison and gave tablets iff they are ill. I will give them tablets to make them better and and I will send people to the hospital when they are very ill. I will tell them to wear a patch. I will let some fresh air to your eye and I will make your eye feel much better and I will give them drops in their eye when they have bad eyes. I will be glad to make them better and when they have swollen ers I will give.... (and the girl went on for another two pages, she obviously had a lot to say).

One little boy with an unfortunate lust for war wrote:

> When I grow up I want to be a tanker and I would fight with tankers in Germany and go to Ireland and then go to France and then go to England again.

The interesting thing about this boy's work was that during "choosing time" we constructed a tanker out of toilet paper rolls and kleenex boxes and then painted it red. Clearly the freedom of the integrated curriculum allowed him to integrate the skills of the writing project to a self-initiated art project.

Another writing assignment was: "If I met a monster I think it would..." The children wrote:

> If I met a monster I think it would smell and have 96 eyes and all of them oblong and a million legs and a scailey body and it looks ugly and it hobbles along.

> If I met a monster I think it would look all scaley and be very fat and have orange eyes and have 10 heads and all of his body would be all blue and have 20 eyes and have long legs and it would stride over tree tops.
>
> If I met a monster I think it would look at me with red and green eyes and it would live in the water and when it came out of the water it would lead lots and lots of bodies and at the end of the bodies there would be a long tail and it would be very very slippery and it would even eat people's bones and when he heard a noise it would howl.

This assignment was a particularly interesting one because it required the children to rely on their own vocabularies and their own imaginations to "conjure up" something that they had never seen. It also integrated their knowledge of descriptive body features, such as "scaley" skin, "ten oblong heads", "a very long tail", and the noises such a creature could make ("and when he heard a noise he would howl").

Not all of the assignments were on specific topics. One morning the teacher told the children to make up their own stories. "Make it as outrageous and as imaginative as you want," she said.

Here are two samples:

> Once upon a time there was a train and it had to get up a big hill and when it got up the station to pick up some people up to take them to another station in America because the people were going on a a holiday and when they got there they got off the train and the train went back and when they had been in America for a week the train came back for the people then people got on the train and went home and lived happily ever after.
>
> Once upon a time a boy went for a walk he met a horse the horse wanted some apples so the boy ran home and got some apples and came back again and gave the horse the apples, he wanted to ride the horse so he went back to his house again to ask his mummy if he could go horse riding his mummy said yes you may so his mummy took him to the farm

> the boy was called Peter he said his mummy the
> farmer said right he may ride the horse. The
> horse was called Silver because he was white.
> The boy lived happily ever after.

Although the stories were inaccurate in punctuation and spelling they did require imagination and they did more or less follow a story line.

In writing these, if the children would want to use a word for which they did not know the spelling they would ask the teacher to write it for them in their vocabulary books of new words. The new word was then a part of the child's vocabulary to be used again and again. This was part of the formula for helping the children to achieve competence in their written work without destroying spontaneity. "There are the dual aims of creative writing -- to equip children with the basic skills of language and to give them the opportunity to express freely their feelings and experiences" (Marshall 1974: 2).

The movement in and out of the classroom from activity to activity was free-flowing but it was not without limitations. "You learn to build up confidence in them in all their work and after a while you learn just how much freedom a certain child can handle and you place limits on them. We learn to respect each other," their teacher revealed. As their headmistress asserted: "Guisely is an example of freedom in education but with the rules so well understood that it is not a dis-integrated day."

Even in the creative writing projects this balance between freedom and control was exhibited. Indeed, the keynote of creative writing is awareness of all the possibilities of language of which these rules form a significant part (Marshall 1974: 2). One cannot learn to handle freedom constructively until one has an understanding of the rules.

## The Use of the Environment

In focusing my attention on the environment the first thing I did was to look at the general appearance of the school. The corridors and classrooms were covered with beautifully colored and captioned pieces of children's artwork and tables were set up in every hall with some sort of display. One display was filled with shells the children had brought in from the seaside. Another table was covered with various types of bird feathers which the children had found on the way to school. One day the headmistress announced in assembly that she wanted everyone to pay special attention to the lovely wildflowers growing on the moors and to bring them in to school for a wild flower competition. In this incident she helped the children focus on the beauty of their countryside and at the same time gave them the feeling of contributing something to the school. Children's artwork was presented in assembly every day and later emerged in the corridor before it could eventually be hung in the classroom of the artist. Children seemed to share in each other's pride for each colorful creation. All were for the beauty of the school.

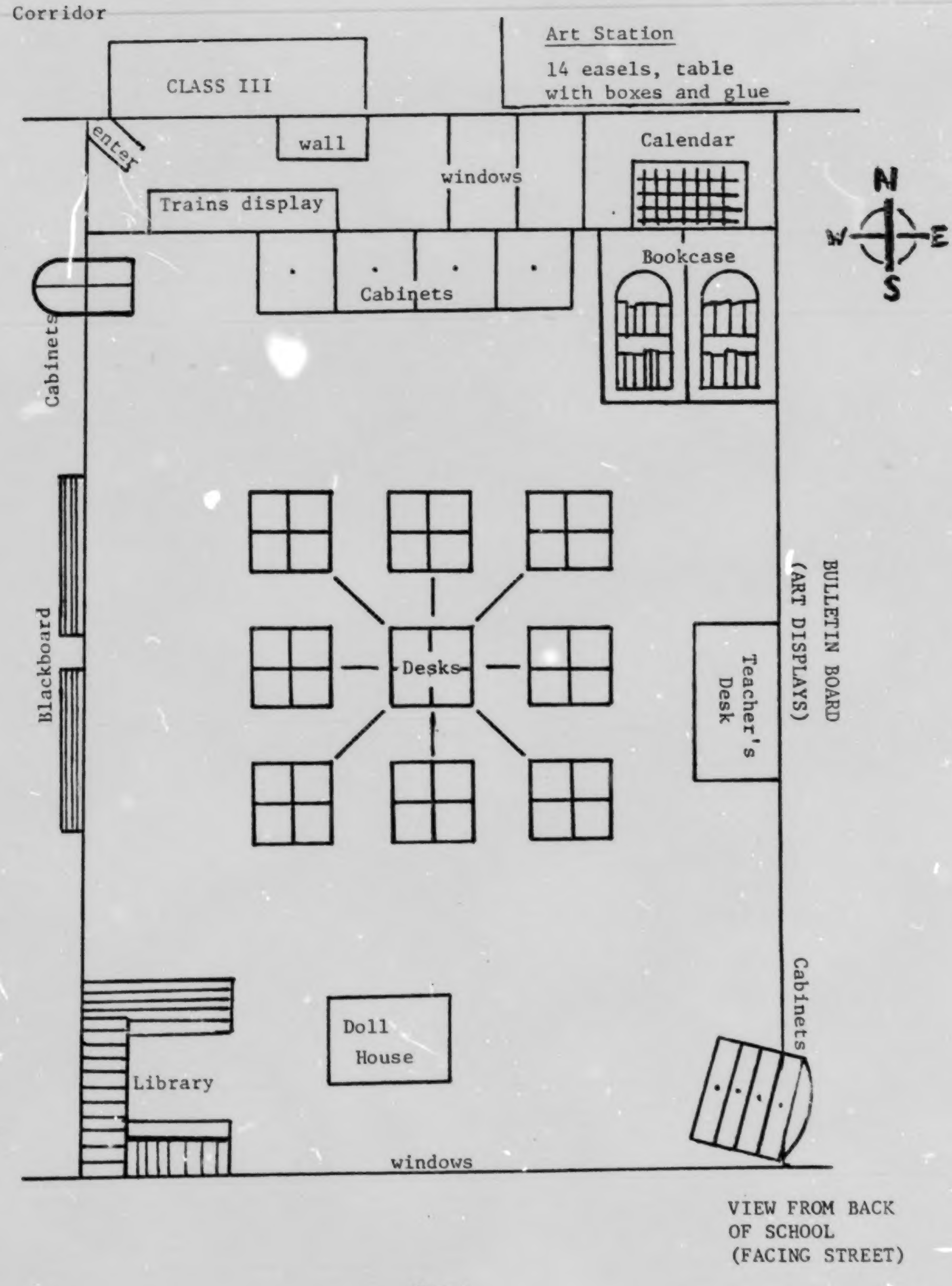
The beauty of the physical environment around the school, the summer folliage and flowers, and the warmth of the sun were all sources of stimulation for child-induced artwork and writing, all at the subtle influence of the teachers. The teacher in Class III once structured the morning "talking-time" discussion on the subject of inspiring things about nature. One usually timid child burst into a discussion about a recent morning he had spent picking gooseberries with his brother in the field and how they had seen a family of rabbits picking berries as well.

I was also impressed with the writing on the pictures, often in the script of the child. As in the Plowden (1967: 218) model, writing is taught hand-in-hand with reading at the nursery level. Children begin by dictating to the teacher the sentence that goes with the drawings they have made and they gradually learn to copy the teacher's hand, and then do the writing themselves. Thus, children's first writing will be based on their own experience, on something concrete in their immediate environment and on something they want to record.

Next I examined the materials in the classroom (see sketch on following page). The art supplies were quite impressive: there were sewing materials, chalk, tissue paper, scissors, glue, crayons, and plasticine (clay) inside the cabinets of the classroom. Directly outside the classroom in the corridor there were about four easels set up with tempora paints and a table of boxes, egg cartons, toilet paper rolls, glue, and printed cloth for whatever artistic invention a child might conjure up. Often children might build a model of some sort to illustrate what they had written about that day, as in the case of the boy with the tank. On the day of the monster assignment several multi-color beasts were painted in the corridor.

There were two libraries in the classroom. The main one was in the south-west corner of the room and it contained about 50 story books and sixteen poetry books and was equipped with a cushioned child-sized chair for private reading. There was also a cabinet filled with books in the north-east corner.

I also saw a stack of "free writing" cards which the children were free to use to help make up stories. They were ambiguous pictures with captions like: "Why is Mummy waving for us to come in? Has she got a surprise for us? Write a story about it."


Corridor
CLASS III
Art Station
14 easels, table with boxes and glue
enter
wall
windows
Calendar
N
W
E
S
Trains display
Bookcase
Cabinets
Cabinets
Blackboard
Desks
BULLETIN BOARD (ART DISPLAYS)
Teacher's Desk
Cabinets
Doll House
Library
windows

VIEW FROM BACK
OF SCHOOL
(FACING STREET)

Another way that the teacher made use of the environment was in the way she turned encounters with familiar objects into learning. A child would ask her to cut her apple into four pieces. "What percentage of the apple is this piece?" the teacher might ask. "A quarter!" the child would respond.

Another spontaneous learning exercise occured one morning during "talking time". A boy had brought in a very long football scarf that he had knit himself and she suggested that he measure it after "talking time" was over.

Most important, as mentioned earlier, the environment was seen as a source of inspiration of the children's creative projects. Field trips to nearby cities such as one the class made to York allowed the children to look outside and to see things for themselves. England's cities are so much a part of history that the child cannot help but feel stimulated by them. On the trip, the children went to the railway museum, walked along the mediaeval city walls and spent some time by the sea.

The trip to York inspired a great deal of creative activity the following week. First the children wrote about the outing, as one boy did:

> On tuesday we went to York and when we were there we went to the railway museum and we saw lots of trains and then we went to a picnic in the long, tall green grass and had sandwiches and biscuits and crisps.

Although the child only listed the agenda of the day rather blandly, at least he had included the parts he remembered: the trains, the long tall green grass, and the delicious contents of the picnic. Besides that, every word was spelled right!

The children also constructed trains out of boxes and clay representations of the walls. In addition, the children presented their captioned paintings of the trip in assembly one day.

Thus, the trip to York was not only entertaining but it served to integrate the educational experience with artistic projects. The teacher took advantage of the seasons, the holidays, and festivities such as the Queen's Silver Jubilee to encourage creative writing and free drawing from the children.

## The Role Of The Teacher

The role of the teacher is perhaps the most direct influence in fostering or inhibiting a child's creative faculties. Peter Dixon in his book Creative Expression in the Primary School (1974:11) asserts, "It is futile to expect a child to paint, speak, write, dance or engage in any truly creative activity unless they obtain, or are given, some initial stimulus. The means of initiating such impetus are varied and depend largely upon the skill, understanding and sensitivity of the teacher. It is obvious, however, that the teacher should be capable of 'opening' the children's eyes to varied subjects and situations in the world about them."

Weber quotes the Froebelians when she describes the teacher's role as "implementing and opening up a child's purposes". As outlined by the Froebelians, the teacher's directing part in stimulating the interests of the child were quite complicated. She had to cooperate with the native interests of each child to help them raise their own questions and provide direction for their own exploration. Any myths I had entertained of the teacher "just standing by" in emphasis of the child's own free choices and initiations were quickly dissolved on the first day I entered the classroom.

One of the most important times of the day for initiating the close teacher-child relationship is the communication period at the beginning of the day. Letting the children talk gives the teacher a chance to know what they are feeling and know what to encourage to keep discussion flowing. The result is a growing process for both the teacher and the children. In such a warm, responsive open atmosphere the child could not help but have something to talk about and write about.

The headmistress stresses the importance of this early morning communication period. "It seems that more and more, now than ever, the children really need this time to talk and make up for what is lacking at home. The parents may not listen to their kids enough and they'll come into school just bursting with something to say, and it's our job to let them express these feelings."

"I try to get everyone to feel a sense of responsibility," their teacher reveals, "so they understand that they need to work and get ready for the Junior school. Sometimes a child that has never enjoyed writing will find that there is something he knows about that he can express in words. It's up to the teacher to encourage a child to develop these certain talents. Graham, for example, could never write a complete sentence. He had no confidence in his work. One day he started talking about his favorite place in the world which is his grandfather's farm, and I told him he could write about it if he wanted to. Since then he has found that he can write about something, and it was writing about the farm that started him off."

This growing process of the teacher discovering and building on the interests of the child (so that children think the exploration was their idea) was one of the first things I noticed about the teacher's approach. In the discussion preceding the "When I grow up" assignments I can remember Miss Thorpe saying, "I bet I know what Graham wants to be...a farmer like his grandfather!" This followed in a discussion on how to milk a cow and pick wheat.

She initiated every writing project with a discussion to stir up the interest of the children and get them ready to create their own images. "What do you think a monster's skin would look like?" she asked the class before the "If I met a monster" writings. "What color would he be?" "How would he move?"

Their teacher's following comment on creativity reveals a great deal about her role in fostering it in her pupils: "Creativity is somehow a part of everything we do. We are always using words or just doing something expressive. Some childrem are not good at reading but they are good at making models and they use their hands to express themselves. It is an important part of the child's natural learning process, just like everything else. I do try to incorporate it into my teaching just by looking and listening to a child. I think it just happens in growing to be a natural teacher."

Along with the difficult task of encouraging creativity is the problem of evaluating creative work. Educator Sybil Marshall (1974: 2) warns: "Perhaps the greatest mistake of all that has been made in the changeover from the old in the new has been the belief of many that providing the children wrote in quantity and with pleasure, expressing themselves freely without inhibition and finding fresh, vigorous language in which to do it, any rules of spelling, punctuation and grammar could be dispensed with. Perhaps the keynote of 'creative writing' is awareness of all the possibilities of language, and of this 'the rules' form a significant part."

This issue of teaching the children to "obey the rules" of language while letting them unlease their inhibitions and their fantasies is one important point to establish if one is to give credibility to the informal approach. The teacher in Class III makes a point of keeping up the same high standards in creative writing pieces that she does in other sorts of work. She corrects spelling errors and has the child copy them over, and she instructs the children to finish incomplete sentences and thought patterns. Punctuation errors are not graded but I have never actually seen punctuation used by a child in a story. Most written work was in the form of run-on sentences connected by the word "and". But the other "rules" of grammar and spelling were followed in most cases.

Another important aspect of the teacher's role that I studied was how, if at all, she actually interfered with the creative exploration of the children. This is a difficult action to define, for where does one draw the line between encouragement and interference? Dixon (1974:

vi) warns against the dangers of doing work for the children, and that the artistic project should be personal to the imagination of the creator, not the teacher. I was surprised and dismayed to notice one occasion when the teacher did interfere with the children's artwork to the point where she actually took the paint brush from the children's hands and made part of it herself. The type of projects were the "classroom group projects" that were oreinted towards projecting a certain image of the classroom to the school. This was illustrated one day when the class was to do an assembly on what they would remember most about Guiseley Infant School. The teacher did not think that a girl's painting of "assembly time" looked "typical" enough. She instructed her as to what to draw and then proceeded to paint the backs of the children in the audience.

I observed only one incident of this kind but I did find that projects that were for "show" were very more teacher-oriented than the private free artwork of the children.

Conclusions:

Through my participant observation and interviewing at Guiseley Infant School I was able to provide a descriptive account of some aspects of the informal school that foster creative activity in children. Many of these features can be applied to an American school. The looser time-tabling allowed the children to have time to finish individual projects and part of this flexibility was achieved by the teacher's assigning not enough work to fill the day. Another advantage of this integrated curriculum is that no strict division was made between skills, reading, writing, number work and art, all were seen as related. A child's knitting was also a math project to measure. A child's writing project could be combined with an art project.

Writing from personal experience is the best way to open up the children to possibilities of language. It is an excellent way of teaching a child how to write, to maintain an interest in writing, and at the same time gives the child compositional skills.

In using the environment, again, the idea of learning through personal experience was employed, allowing a child to rely on his own resources to acquire knowledge. Using the concrete rather than the abstract to teach young children is clearly a sensible practice. This is a method implemented in American Montessori schools today yet the roots of the theory of "teaching by things" dates as far back as 1800 when Pestalozzi published his accounts of how young children learn (Whitbread 1972: 34). This practice would work well in any well-stocked American classroom where the sand used for play, for example, could be used to teach measurement in numbers. Perhaps enabling the child to see the relationships between objects in the environment, as well as the subjects taught in school, can help promote the abilities of flexible thinking, remote association or relationships, redefinition, and elaboration, which are among the several factors listed by Gulliford (1959) to be identified in the work of creative persons (Davis 1977: 62).

The opportunity for a child to have several choices within a carefully installed range of skills activities would be well applied to an American classroom. Perhaps the Piagetian influences in America on early childhood education which stress the individuality of a child's growth will help change the phenomenon of an entire classroom working on one project in unison with the teacher, to the model we see in these British child-centered schools.

As a descriptive study, my findings concur with those of Weber (1971), Plowden (1967), and Davis (1977), and can be regarded as a case study of how one informal British classroom made use of its integrated curriculum and school organization, its environment, and innovative teacher to foster creative activity in young children. One reason why many of the classroom's features can be applied to an American school is that it was not a totally free, open school, as many people picture an informal school as being, nor was it chatoic, confusing, or substandard educationally. Although the teacher did not have to work toward a certain uniform standard (as used to be the case in the days of the 8+ and 11+ exams), she was trying to prepare the children for the junior school and did have goals to meet in the children's cognitive performances. I found a new hypothesis emerging when I examined the freedom as a whole. This freedom in education, just as the freedom in the creative writing, required a clear understanding of rules and limitations. Children were taught that the classroom is a workshop which must function properly in order for their free exploration to be worthwhile. Children' knew not to wander past the corridor just outside the classroom and they understood that the bright blue paint available to them belonged on their canvases, not the walls. They felt a sense of pride in their school--it was their shared environment.

At the same time, the children learned how to benefit from free writing assignments because they were given a sense for the "rules" behind language: rules of spelling, grammar and composition that they extended into their own writing. This formula of freedom of choice within a limited environment was the theme I found running through all the exciting aspects of this informal infant classroom.

One limitation of this study was that the factors I was considering were not broken down into measurable quantities, and thus I could not prove that the characteristics I was observing were associated with creative expression. I could only examine what seemed to be a relationship between them. Creativity itself is a difficult thing to assess. An interesting follow-up for this study would be to administer tests to the Class III pupils for divergent thinking and ingenuity. Tests that measure listening and remembering, compositional English, free drawing and numerical ability, as the ones used by Dorothy Gardner in her study (1966) would help provide educational validity to the findings.

Perhaps the biggest limitation of the study was that I had no other informal schools to compare Guiseley Infant School to, and part of my investigation required actually determining how representative the school was of an informal infant school. An interesting way to broaden the scope of this study would be to look at the same characteristics within different school climates ranging from formal to informal, and see if there were any differences. Tests for creativity and achievement tests could also be administered within the different school "climate" models.

## References

Chomsky, C.
1971 "Write first, read later". Childhood Education 47 (March): 296-299.

Clegg, A.B.
1965 The Excitement of Writing. London: Chatto & Windus.

Davis, Frances R.A.
1977 "Writing development in some British schools." Children Learning 52 (March 17): 55-63.

Dixon, Peter
1974 Creative Expression in the Primary School. Abingdon, Berkshire: Basil Blackwell.

Eyre, Wallace
1971 "Imaginative learning in the non-streamed primary school." Chapter 6 of At Classroom Level: 53-59.

Getzel J. and P.W. Jackson
1962 Creativity and Intelligence. London: Routledge & Kegal Paul.

Kitwood, Tom and Marie Macey
1977 Mind That Child. London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative.

Lytton, Hugh
1971 Creativity and Education. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Marshall, Sybil
1974 Creative Writing. London: Macmillan Education.

National Froebel Foundation
1962 Children Learning. London: NRF.

Plowden, Bridget
1967 Children and Their Primary Schools Vol I: The Report. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Weber, Lillian
1971 The English Infant School and Informal Education. Inglewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc.

Whitbread, Nanette
1972 The Evolution of the Nursery Infant School. London & Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

# Perspectives on Dyslexia

by

Valerie Karny

## Introduction

People are prisoners of their own intellect in that they must define, organize, and systematically go about uncovering and learning about problems which interest them. So, as our modern world developed out of the old agrarian society, and the need to read printed material became, for the first time in history, necessary for survival, the task of dealing with children who had reading problems became enormously complicated. How and why early educators recognized the need for studying reading problems bears directly on research work being done today on dyslexia, a term loosely applied to mean "a reading problem." Therefore, a brief historical perspective on dyslexia is needed before the focus of this paper is directed toward research work being done today in both America and Britain with children experiencing reading problems.

"Reading difficulty" is an over-simplified and inadequate definition of dyslexia since there are a great number of children as well as adults who have some difficulty in word recognition skills and/or comprehension of written material, yet we would be doing them gross injustice to label them dyslexic. Unfortunately, as is the case too often, this label is loosely applied by uninformed parents or misinformed educators. For that reason, the definition of dyslexia needs to be refined, enabling educators, psychologists and others to intelligently use the definition in recognizing children and adults with possible reading problems. Only then can remedial help, which best meets the needs of an individual, be provided.

Simultaneously, research studies and theories need to be developed on possible causes of reading problems as manifested through various characteristics displayed by the dyslexic in order that the greatest number of children with possible difficulties be identified and helped.

Finally, remedial programs or methods need to be analyzed, their strengths and weaknesses assessed, before applying them to children. There is no one remediation program to fit the needs of all children, nor is there one program that can be applied as is, without alteration, to one child. Observing how individual remediation programs are set up for different children in a normal primary school's reading resource room, gave me the background to analyze one school's remediation program while in Great Britain.

Therefore, my research in the area of dyslexia and my reason for writing this paper were undertaken to accomplish two goals: 1) Review the most recent and well researchad material on the definition of dyslexia, the theories of possible causes for reading problems and the process by which remediation programs are established for both America and Great Britain; and 2) undertake an in-depth case study of a British combined infant-junior school's remedial program in reading to assess how it fits into the education system as a whole, while analyzing various aspects of the program. No formal evaluation of the effectiveness of this program is intended. Examples of my observations will appear throughout the paper, as well as in an ethnography at the end.

## A Historical Persepctive on Dyslexia

How did the concept of dyslexia arise in the first place? Going back to the year 1896 to a small town called Bradford, located in West Yorkshire, Great Britain, Doctor James Kerr described a case which he had seen of an intelligent boy of fourteen who was incapable of learning to read. This was the earliest and possibly the very first case to become known as "cogenital word blindness." Corroborating his findings with a Glasgow eye surgeon named James Hinshelwood, the original report in the British Medical Journal stated that "the school-master who taught the fourteen-year-old lad for several years says that he would be the smartest lad in school if instruction was entirely oral" (Tansley 1967: 6).

The initiative in the early detection of these cases remained for a time with British educators and especially with ophthalmologists. A series of case-reports appeared from several ophthalmologists in the medical press between 1896 and 1902. In 1900, Hinshelwood and Kerr wrote a combined monograph entitled "Letter, Word, and Mind-Blindness" in which they stated (as reported by Tansley 1967):

> We have little doubt that these cases of congenital word-blindness are by no means so rare as the absence of recorded cases would lead us to infer. Their rarity is, we think, accounted for by the fact that when they do occur, they are not recognized. It is a matter of the highest importance to recognize the cause and the true nature of this difficulty in learning to read which is experienced by these children, otherwise they may be harshly treated as imbeciles or incorrigibles, and either neglected or punished for a defect for which they are not responsible.

Already we had researchers warning us to take heed of these children and to treat them separately, but for most of the first half of the Twentieth Century, this warning went unacknowledged.

As medical technology began to grow at a faster rate in the United States than Britain, especially during the economic "boom years" of the 1920's, the bulk of the research passed largely from Great Britain to America. Those who imagined the causes of reading problems were due to structural brain defects found themselves in a minority by 1924, as these theories were entirely speculative. On the other hand, more and more theories were being developed by men like Apert (1924) and Potzl (1925) who visualized a developmental delay of function, allowing the concept of a "maturational lag" to arise to explain the cause of dyslexia (Tansley 1967: 7).

In 1925, Samuel Orton from America entered the picture. From close observation of retarded readers, studying especially their imperfect efforts at writing and spelling, Orton noted that correlations, such as left-handedness or ambidexterity and a tendency towards reversals when attempting to read and write, seemed to exist in these readers. Orton believed that behind this phenomena lay "ambiguous occipital dominance", which was physiological in nature, representing a faulty patterning of brain function. For this condition Orton gave the term "strephosymbolia" (Tansley 1967: 8).

Although this expression never gained total acceptance in Britain or America, Orton's work directed attention to factors which are currently accepted as important in understanding the delayed ability to read. However, it was in America that Orton arranged for Miss Ann Gillingham, one of his assistants, to work out a technique to train "strephosymbolic" children to read better. The technique is based upon the constant use of the association of the visual aspect of a word or letter, the auditory aspect of how it sounds, and the kinesthetic aspect of how the speech organs or how the hand in writing feels when producing it. This technique caught on in America and is still used in some centers, however in Britain, it was never used extensively (Jackson 1971: 14).

From the 1930's onward, especially in Britain, the work on reading problems was done by sociologists and educational psychologists.

"Backwardness in reading", as the condition was labelled, became envisaged more as a problem in sociology than in medicine. Many detailed studies done in 1946 by Schonell, Vernon and Monroe scarcely refer to specific and organically determined factors as causes, favoring instead a multi-factorial explanation which included environment and emotional problems as well. By the late 1950's, neurologists on the one hand, and those observers on the other hand who did not believe in "Specific Developmental Dyslexia" (meaning having medical origins), were united by the definition the English psychologist E.J. Hermann offered on dyslexia (Tansley 1967: 18):

> . . . a defective capacity for acquiring,at the normal time, a proficiency in reading and writing corresponding to average performance; the deficiency is dependent upon constitutional factors (heredity), is often accompanied by difficulties with other symbols (numbers, musical notation, etc.), it exists in the absence of intellectual defect or defects of the sense-organs which might retard the normal accomplishment of these skills, and in the absence of past or present appreciable inhibitory influences in the internal or external environments.

Still, this was not adequate. In the 1960's dyslexia was still being defined and equated with many terms like "word blindness", "visuo-motor disability","perceptual handicap", and "asymbol" -- all terms that seemed to embrace many complications and to have an emotional charge to them that blinded people to the job of refining the definition while discovering possible causes for it. Researchers, as well as journalists like R. Doyne in England, began to write extensively, cautioning people against the idea of accepting current "in vogue" characteristic terms used to describe the dyslexic child. Doyne said that "research for too long has followed in America's footsteps by focusing on the too narrow and frequently used terms associated with brain damage" (Penfield 1971: 86).

Besides journal articles, additional pressure to view dyslexia in a fresh light came from the results of studies with exceptional children -- the gifted at one extreme and the severely retarded at the opposite extreme. These studies emphasized not so much the strength of environmental influences but the interaction with hereditary or maturational patterns. During the late 1960's, there was an increasingly popular viewpoint that these normal-bright children could be accelerated in their perceptual skills if their anxiety about school failure was reduced and they were allowed to be taught individually from recorded accounts of their own activities (Penfield 1971).

It was becoming more clearly recognized that individual dyslexic children varied in the causes of their reading problems. This resulted in the recognition that the range of symptoms manifested by these children was great. For example, some children could not have been called non-readers. but they read so slowly that in all their reading-writing tasks they failed to complete the examination. Likewise, recognition was being made of those children who, for example, were able to read two narratives perfectly at the age of eight, but knew nothing of what was read, thereby failing their exams as well (Penfield 1971: 88).

Therefore,in the realm of research, increased emphasis was placed on individual case studies with the results revealing a multiplicity of possible causative factors or influences, including histories of pre-natal or perinatal stress, slower rates of maturation in talking and walking, and poor motor responses to symbolic teaching. Since the late 1960's, British educators, socio-psychologists, and physicians have not been interested in working out specific theories as to the causes of dyslexia, relying instead on the research being done in America (Jackson 1971: 41). British educators especially have accepted the notion that the primary importance of their work lies in developing and perpetuating the idea of the individualistic approach to all education, remedial as well as regular education. They view each child as separate and try to discover the cause of an individual child's reading problem only if it is relevant in helping to remediate that child. Furthermore, educators as well as physicians and psychologists in Britain have accepted for a large part, the two definitions which The Research Group on Developmental Dyslexia of the World Federation of Neurology (compromising of an international body of experts in neurology, psychology, and pediatry) recommended for general acceptance in 1969. The following definitions are those that were recommended for acceptance (Tansley 1967: 11).

Specific Developmental Dyslexia

A disorder manifested by difficulty in learning to read despite conventional instruction, adequate intelligence, and socio-cultural opportunity. It is dependent upon fundamental cognitive disabilities which are frequently of constitutional origin.

Dyslexia

A disorder in children who despite conventional classroom experience, fail to attain the language skills of reading, writing, and spelling commensurate with their intellectual abilities.

With the bulk of research then, especially of late, coming from the United States, it is important to view the developmental course that the definition and especially the theories of causation had in America.

In America, as was the case in Britain, research studies and literature were subject to contradictory interpretations of dyslexia throughout most of the 1960's because of the ambiguous nature of not only the term "dyslexia", but also the term to which it applied, "reading difficulty". In addition, studies on dyslexia in America were approached from an educational, psychological, and medical perspective, each field defining "dyslexia" in light of their own particular interests. These varied definitions covered hereditary, organic, congenital, psychogenic, social, and educational causes and included all pupils who were more than two years retarded in reading according to grade level. No one has even been able to clearly validate the two year cut-off, let alone agree on how to measure grade level achievement (Spache 1969: 28).

Because so little is known about what characterizes a reading disability, the definition of dyslexia varies greatly within and among countries, yet attempts to refine a definition are still as active in the 1970's as they were in the 1960's. This same process of objectively testing, analyzing, and refining theories relating to the causes of reading disabilities occurs in both countries. Theoretically, this should allow for future research to progress in a unified fashion toward one goal. However, the process has been made difficult as each theory identifies a number of reasons for children's inability to interpret written material successfully. For example, vision has been cited by many people who say that reading problems are a result of the child's eye muscles not functioning adequately. Other theorists assail heredity as the cause. Some say that poor reading is related to a lack of cerebral dominance. Still other observers blame diseases of the blood. Even the improper functioning of the thyroid gland and of the other ductless glands have been mentioned as causes of reading retardation. The fact remains, however that none of these theories have been adequately substantiated (Spache 1969).

Still, in bringing several popular theories to the forefront as this paper will do, separate analysis of each one is possible as well as comparisons and contrasts between them. This can aid in determining possible directions that future research may take.

Furthermore, in assessing each thoery, misconceptions of the characteristics of the dyslexic child may be cleared up. For example, too often and for too long these children have been thought to be of low mental ability, not capable of high achievement. They are seldom thought of correctly as having a delay or a difficulty in their ability to progress in reading which is out of harmony with intellectual ability. As a result of these misconceptions, dyslexic children are often placed with children of limited intelligence and provided with the same type of educational program as that designed for a retarded or slow learner (Spache 1969: 30).

As if the above label and categorization was not enough, those people who are often closest to the child characterize the child in their own ways. For example, parents and teachers often characterize dyslexics as lazy and unwilling to learn. They recognize, however, that these children are not unintelligent because they speak and act intelligently about things that interest them and do well in out-of-school activities like baseball which requires an alert, intelligent mind. Befuddled by the fact that these children are intelligent yet cannot read on equal ability levels as their same-age peers, parents and teachers reach the conclusion that the only explanation for the child's failure to progress in reading is because the child did not try hard enough. Parents especially become convinced that a bit of determined effort is all that is needed for their child to achieve. Obviously determination is not enough as these children frequently are put back a year in school as punishment for their "laziness." But also, they are held back with the misguided notion that this action will motivate the child to put forth the effort to learn. In addition to this action, dyslexics are goaded and threatened at home, kept in at night to do extra work and are drilled on work assigned for the following day. The main result of all this effort is usually total frustration for both parent and child (Spache 1969: 31).

## General Characteristics of Children Observed

Throughout the five weeks in which I was able to observe dyslexic children who came for a half hour remedial reading session in the resource room of a primary school in Britain, I noticed the following general characteristics about them:

(1) In every half hour period, there were more boys than girls present. Several of the males were left-handed or ambidextrous.

(2) In the case of two females and three males, there seemed to be a persisting tendency to reverse letters and symbols, such as the letter "p" for "q" or "w" for "n". With these children, there was also a tendency to reverse words such as "stop" for"pots" and "was" for "saw" when they were reading outloud. One male child became confused when it came to reading from left to right. He would begin reading the first sentence from left to right, but when he ended the sentence, he would drop down to the second sentence and at times begin reading from right to left, with the last word being read first.

(3) With the majority of the nearly forty children who came to the room at least twice to three times a week, they had difficulty breaking down the letter sounds of new words and then blending the sounds together to pronounce the words. Breaking down the word was not as difficult as the re-blending was for most of these children.

(4) Two children, a boy and girl of eight, failed to see similarities and differences in forms of letters or words such as "no" and "on"

or "pub" and "bud", even after I pointed to the words and asked them to show me how they were different (which they could not answer) and how they were similar (which the little boy could answer). Although these two children had difficulty hearing the difference between "p" and "b" and "f" and "v", they did not have trouble with other letters I tested them on. For example, the children had no trouble deciphering the differences between the following letter sounds: "s" and "z", "t" and "d", and "m" and "n".

(5) There was a generalization which applied to 29 of the 40 students. As they read outloud to me, they were unable to keep their place in the sentence when I took away their piece of guide paper or moved their finger aside. These were both aids that they needed to help focus their attention on the individual words being read as well as the sentence on the page. A second generalization can be applied to over half of these children (24 of the 40). It seemed that they could vocalize the words correctly outloud, yet were still unable to read with sufficient comprehension to answer half of the questions correctly about the story they had just finished reading to me.

One child I worked closely with was reading two grade levels below his own. He was nine and was reading material that a seven-year-old would normally read. Yet, he was doing better that the majority of his class in arithmetic. (This evidence was obtained by visiting his classroom and comparing the page number he was on with several of those students sitting around him. His classroom teacher later confirmed my conclusion as well.) Although deficient in one area, dyslexics often compensate by excelling in another area like math, or physical education and so on.

As can be noted from the above discussion, dyslexia is a complicated problem. One of the reasons why dyslexia is so difficult to remediate is due to the fact that it is rarely found in isolation. Other disabilities are manifested as part of the total syndrome, as evidenced in the children I worked with and observed. It is important now to look more closely or more in depth at those characteristic disabilities which affect the dyslexic child. Although all the characteristics are not expected to be found in a single child, the following often occur with the reading disorder (Johnson and Myklebust 1967: 38).

## Memory Impairments

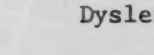
When the central nervous system of the body is not functioning adequately, deficits in memory span as well as immediate and/or delayed recall may occur. The child's learning may be affected through one sensory modality, like sight, while auditorially there are no problems. However, since reading requires both auditory and visual memory, a child who is impaired and unable to retain information in either modality will have difficulties. If there are auditory memory problems, the child may be unable to remember letter sounds and thus be unable to make and remember words. Those children with visual memory impairments may be unable to revisualize letters and words (Johnson and Myklebust 1967)

As an example of this, taken from my field study observations in the resource room in which I worked, there was a ten-year-old girl named Angela who came for remediation to improve her memory. One day she was working in her workbook and the exercise instructed her to place "AND" in the following words: H____, C___LE, H__LE, C___Y. Before she was able to write AND in every blank, the directions asked her to guess the word it would make before actually writing in those letters. She could not guess what the new word would be and needed to actually write

"AND" in every word before she could remember it. Later, I held up my hand and asked her to spell "hand". She could not. When I wrote the word "hand" on the paper in front of her, she immediately said, "Yes, that's how it's spelled." She did not have to recall the spelling from memory, so she was able to recognize it when someone else had written it for her.

## Sequencing

Dyslexic children often fail to remember the sequence of letters or sounds in words, so often times they mis-read or mis-spell words. Along with this, dyslexics often have difficulty learning a series of things such as the months in a year or the alphabet (Johnson and Myklebust 1972).

Another example of a sequencing problem was displayed by one eight-year-old boy named Ian who came to the remediation room also. He had trouble pronouncing "pan" and "band". Throughout one story in which the words appeared, while he read outloud, he would substitute one for the other. He also substituted the word "daddy" for "mommy" and vice versa. The visual configuration for these latter two words are similar , so it may be that he guessed at the word by looking at its total configuration instead of recognizing the differences in the individual sequences of letters in each word to be able to tell the words apart.

## Writing and Spelling

Since writing is possible only after the ability to read has been mastered, the dyslexic child is usually unable to write more than he can read. A majority can copy, but until children can interpret and remember words, they cannot use them spontaneously in writing. Furthermore, since writing requires a child to revisualize and reauditorize letters in words, we can expect the dyslexic child to be deficient in spelling tasks as well (Johnson and Myklebust 1972: 40).

For example, all the children I observed in the resource room did extensive copying from books that were above their reading level. After the remediation teacher had a child copy several paragraphs or pages from a particularly interesting part of a story, she would read, word by word, what the child had written, pointing to each word as she read, directing the child's eyes and attention to what had been written in the hope that the child would remember a word or two from the copying exercise when reading at some future date. The remediation teacher also did this with the hope that the child's motivation would be kept strong to progress in reading.

Left-Right Orientation

Results from investigations made by Critchley in 1953, and Bender and Benton in 1959, have found that children and adults with neurological impairments often have trouble with the concept of left and right in respect to their own bodies as well as with respect to inanimate objects. They characteristically do not understand directions involving these words which can hinder a child in a social setting like a physical education class where the rules in a game often require an understanding of left-right orientation.

I was only able to observe one child who seemed to have trouble with left and right orientation. He could never remember which hand to hold his pencil in and he would often ask me to tell him which to use. I would say, "Darrin, try each hand to see which one you write better with." He would do it and say his right hand wrote better. After several days of him asking me and my replying in the same manner, he learned to use his right hand. After about two weeks, I questioned him as to which hand he used to write with. He answered that he used his right hand, but that at times he had to go back and try each hand before he remembered which wrote better!

### Topographic Disorders

A large number of children and adults are unable to read graphs or maps because they cannot use representational symbols in associating meanings nor can they use symbols in spatial representation. For example, adolescents may not be able to understand the keys used with maps and therefore have little ability to make determinations regarding distance.

Graham, a nine year old child who came into the resource room one day, asked me to show him where America was in relation to Britain on the wall map. He said, "Oh, that's not far at all, there isn't any land to cross. You're closer than my aunt in Luxemborg." He failed to see that distance was just as great whether I was traveling by water or land.

These have been a few of the categories of characteristics that investigators like Doris Johnson (1969) and Helmer Myklebust (1969) have found manifest in the dyslexic. Asking themselves why certain children of normal intelligence manifest these disabilities in conjunction with their reading difficulties, Johnson and Myklebust decided that the only way to answer this question was to study the ways a regular child acquired the skill. Only then,they rationalized, could they develop a theory attempting to explain the cause of reading disabilities. The following is a review of Johnson and Myklebust's theory. The second theory to follow is on genetics as a cause of reading disabilities while the third and final theory will discuss the role of lateral dominance in reading difficulties.

### Visual and Auditory Processing Problems as a Cause of Reading Disabilities

After their observational study, Johnson and Myklebust suggested that reading is a visual symbol system super-imposed on auditory language. Reading, viewed in this manner, implies that it is a symbol system that has been twice removed from the realities of the page (Johnson and Myklebust 1969). There is a developmental progression as the child first integrates non-verbal experiences, then is able to differentiate between symbols, attach meanings to the symbols and finally retain the information. For example, in learning to read, a child must be able to discriminate "dog" from other visual symbols associated with the experience, relate it to the auditory symbol and finally remember it.

Therefore, if a child has difficulties in any of these levels of progression -- difficulty integrating meaningful experiences, or learning through either the visual or auditory modality -- it can cause the child to have problems in reading. Because of the variety of problems which arise in discrimination, interpretation, or retention in either the visual or auditory modality, a unitary approach to remediation is not possible. The nature of the dyslexia must dictate the procedure of choice available to the teacher or clinician (Johnson and Myklebust 1969).

In order to attain Johnson and Myklebust's objective then, of developing integration of experience with the spoken and printed word for the dyslexic, it is necessary that an intensive study of each individual be made so that the remedial plan matches the pattern of deficits. In order not to circumvent the major disability (while simultaneously working on all deficits), Johnson and Myklebust divided dyslexic children in two groups - Visual and Auditory Dyslexics.

Visual Dyslexics

As mentioned previously, a disturbance in some aspect of the visual modality often causes problems in reading. Obviously, deficits in sight and visual fields (straight and side and peripheral) will cause a problem but learning disability specialists are concerned with children who can see but who cannot differentiate, interpret, or remember words because of a central nervous system dysfunction.

Furthermore, it is important to realize that not all visual learning disabilities affect reading. For example, some affect non-verbal functions or they interfere with symbolic behavior including math and music. The degree to which reading is affected by visual learning disabilities depends upon the severity of the disorder. Some of the luckier children only have difficulty developing a good sight vocabulary equal to their expected age or grade level or some have trouble with syllabication of multi-syllable words, while other children are totally unable to read due to the severity of the visual disorder (Johnson and Myklebust).

Results and analysis from diagnostic studies done on visual dyslexics indicate that the following characteristics are typical of this group. These following examples will provide added dimensions, not replications, of previously mentioned characteristics involving visual dyslexics:

(1) Their greatest problems seems to involve memory for the printed word, but a re-visualization handicap affects their behavior in other ways as well. For example, they may not remember numbers, musical notes or other figures well so that these and other figures are not remembered.

(2) Regarding sequencing, visual dyslexics have difficulty following

and retaining visual sequences which may involve duplicating the pattern of a series of block letters arranged in order. Some can follow the sequence when a model is present (like arranging letters to spell "Pan" when the word is already spelled out in front of them) but cannot re-visualize the sequence (say of P-A-N) from memory. They know all the letters in the word and could say them to you but they cannot remember their order.

(3) Many visual dyslexics have discrimination difficulties where they confuse letters and words which look similar. Some fail at noting the internal letter "e" in a word like "bet" and confuse that word with "bat." Some children do not notice the general configuration of words and therefore may confuse "ship" with "snip". In learning to read, it is necessary to know both the details and general configuration of words, as well as the relation of the parts to the whole.

(4) Some children may be accurate in their discriminations, but they cannot rapidly recognize them as being the same or different and they often ponder over words longer than is necessary. For these children, whose rate of visual perception is very slow, it is difficult for them to recognize both pictures and words presented at a rapid rate.

(5) The process of visual analysis and synthesis is made difficult for these children who are often unable to arrange properly the parts in two-piece puzzles of letters or words. Children often love to do jigsaw puzzles but some of these children have a great amount of difficulty with them, indicating that they cannot relate parts to the whole.

(6) When we compare activities, tasks or diagnostic tests, the visual skills involved are comparatively always lower than auditory skills. On reading readiness and reading diagnostic tests, this is especially true.

Visual dyslexics are deficient on subtests involving visual memory and coding. Also, since their auditory skills are greater, they prefer or perform better in activities which require use of their hearing but not their sight. For example, a child may memorize anything heard in class but when required to read the same thing which has just been heard, the child finds it difficult, if not impossible. Likewise, a child may actively understand the rules of a football game being explained and be able to throw the football passes to his dad, but could not watch a football game on T.V. and understand it because of an inability to visually grasp what was happening.

## Auditory Dyslexics

For years it was thought that reading only involved the visual modality, but this is not true. Even though reading is primarily a visual symbol system, many aspects of the auditory modality are integrated in and essential for reading. These auditory aspects include the ability to distinguish similiarities and differences in sounds, to perceive a sound within a word, to synthesize sounds into words, and to divide words up into syllables. If there is a breakdown in any of these auditory functions which Johnson and Myklebust label as "intrasensory" (concerned with that aspect of the auditory modality) then the breakdown will cause the child difficulties in reading.

However, again, according to Johnson and Myklebust, reading is affected in different ways for the auditory dyslexic than for the visual dyslexic. Auditory dyslexics cannot often synthesize sounds into words or analyze words into parts but have no problem learning whole words (which characterizes the visual dyslexic's problem). Therefore, the child with auditory processing problems cannot often learn with a phonic approach to reading where they are taught to blend sounds into words. The child needs, instead, instruction in whole word approaches. Unlike the child with visual dyslexia, the auditory dyslexic may be able to associate the words "orange juice" with the liquid in the carton after seeing it several times,however be unable to relate visual components, like the word "orange juice" with the sound that "orange juice" makes when spoken out-loud. This has greater implications for reading. Even though the similarities in word parts are seen, the child cannot relate them to the auditory counterparts, therefore cannot make the necessary generalizations required in learning to read. Furthermore, the auditory disability causes the child to learn each new word as a separate entity since a part of the word cannot be related to a whole. As a result, the child does not rapidly learn to read new words nor learn to read other words unless each new word is said out-loud (Johnson and Myklebust 1969).

Some of the specific characteristics which plague this child are mentioned in the following paragraphs:

(1) Many children in this group again have problems with memory but in their case they cannot re-auditorize sounds or words. For example, when they look at a word or even a letter, they cannot remember how it is pronounced. The auditory dyslexic may be able to read silently better than orally, since words can often be mentally associated with meanings but the visual symbols cannot always be translated exactly to the auditory. Because of these types of disturbances, it can cause a child to perform lower on one measure of a reading test than another. That is why it is important to take several measures when testing.

(2) This child has numerous discrimination and perceptual disorders as well. "Discrimination of short vowel sounds is one of the greatest

problems of the auditory dyslexic" (Johnson and Myklebust 1969: 56-57). Even though this child understands words like "pit", "pat", and "pet" in context, differences among them cannot be perceived when they are heard separately. Also, these children have trouble listening for a part of a word and thinking up another whole word with the same ending. Rhyming words cannot often be recognized nor made up by the child.

(3) These children have trouble with auditory analysis and synthesis when they are required to break a word down into syllables or sounds (although some find syllable separation easier than individual sound separation). A disturbance in auditory analysis causes spelling and writing problems also. Because of the child's inability to break a word down into various sound components, entire syllables or letters may be omitted when writing.

(4) Again, since skills are generally comparatively better in the visual modality, auditory dyslexics prefer activities and do better on tasks that involve primarily visual abilities. Many children in this group are super good in shop, wood working and athletics.

## Genetics as a Cause in Reading Disabilities

Reading disabilities have been the object of study by investigators from various disciplines and heredity has been cited as a cause for some cases of reading disabilities in the various disciplines' studies. However, there has been little participation, until recently, by the geneticists. There have been two principle reasons cites for this: (1) There has been too much difficulty in finding adequate tangible evidence that is suitable for genetic analysis, and (2) There has been too much of a problem reaching agreement on a definition for reading disability (Goldberg and Schiffman 1972).

Since the control of human behavior is a genetic function and reading is a behavioral function, then, as geneticists have started to reason, we must look at evidence for reading disabilities being a genetic problem. The evidence established until now involves the following areas: (1) pedigree or family history, (2) the presence of learning disabilities in monozygotic and dizygotic twins, (3) the likelihood that a genetically determined reading disability will persist through a lifetime, and (4) the determination of bio-chemical and chromosomal aberations.

Critchley (1971) believes that it is rare to find a child with dyslexia who does not have a family member afflicted with a similiar problem. Bryant and Patterson (1962) assert that in many cases, more than half of their probing interviews revealed other family members having a reading disability as well as a child. However, while an important genetic component of the problem may be established, the evidence is still not conclusive that a genetic defect is basic to all reading disabilities.

One problem hindering the theory seems to be that many of the handicaps, which result in defects in a person's ability to process visual or auditory information or to coordinate and integrate both of these processes, are found in most young children who are just beginning to read. In a child with a reading disability, these defects seem to persist sometimes for months, years and even a lifetime (Goldberg and Schiffman 1972). Thus the question arises as to whether or not it is fair to lable as "genetic" a handicap present in most children, but one that most can learn to compensate for.

The difficulty in dealing with this problem can further be seen in the work of Silver and Hagin (1968). They examined twenty-four persons whom they had observed ten years earlier as having reading disabilities, and they used the same battery of tests on these twenty-four people that they had ten years previously. In addition to testing reading, their methods tested visual-motor, auditory, and tactile functions. The results showed that of the twenty-four subjects, fifteen had now become good readers while nine had not. But more interestingly, they found that the majority still showed the same disabilities in the non-reading tests that they had shown ten years ago. These results suggest that "perceptual training" would have been of no help, and that there can be reasons for thinking that some reading disabilities may be genetically determined.

An interesting study was conducted by Boder (1968). He described three groups of children he was working with: One group was diagnosed as defective in phonetic skills, another group was deficient in visual perceptual skills, while a third group showed deficiencies that were characteristic of both the first two groups. The source of the defects in all three groups could be familial as Boder was able to show that the siblings manifested the exact same deficiency relative to the group that the tested sibling had been placed in. According to Goldberg and Schiffman (1972), not enough research or time has been devoted to examining the parents, relatives and siblings of the child with the reading disability to make any conclusive statements on familial origins as well as genetic origins as a cause for reading disabilities.

## The role of lateral dominance in reading disabilities

Lateral dominance refers to the consistent choice or preference to use one side of the body instead of the other. It is believed to result from a dominant hemisphere in the brain which is on the opposite side of the so-called preferred hand or foot. In addition to handedness, most people have a dominant eye, one preferred when looking through a microscope, sighting, etc. It is interesting that only about a third of the population is mixed in dominance (Spache 1970).

One of the earliest theorists working in the area of lateral dominance was a neurologist named Orton. As was previously mentioned, he believed memory traces or engrams that are found in people's dominant hemisphere are involved in the making of symbolic associations. Therefore, he reasoned that engrams in the non-dominant hemisphere were mirrored images of the former ones and ordinarily these are ignored, especially in the language process. If there is a dominance problem though, as in a case of ambidexterity, the mirrored engrams show up or arise in the form of reversals. This is what Orton referred to as "strephosymbolia" or twisted symbols. A number of recent reading specialists, including Bond, Spache and Tinker feel that Orton's theory may be generally accepted by neurologists but not by most psychologists (Spache 1970).

Another theory based on the dominance theory was expressed by Dearborn who stated that "movement away from the center of the body is more easily made than those movements in the opposite direction" (Dearborn, in Spache's Reading Disability and Perception, 1970). Since reading and writing involve left to right progressions, right-handed and right-eyed individuals as reasoned be Dearborn, would find it easier to read. Left-handed individuals and those with a mixed or inconsistent preference for either side would more likely experience confusion.

Even more recently, Doman and Delacato (1972) set forth a neuropsychological approach to reading disabilities. They place great emphasis on laterality and employ eye occlusion, use of only the dominant hand, and elimination of all tonal activity. Delacato believes that development proceeds in an organized and sequential fashion in the nervous system, progressing through the medulla and cord, pons, midbrain, cortex, and finally coming to a culmination in the dominat hemisphere. Therefore, a child's mobility patterns, vision, hearing, speech, and reading development are all related to anatomical development.

This idea about lateral dominance involved in reading disabilities is no longer as controversial as it once was a few years ago with the majority of investigations indicating little or no relationship between the two. It seems that these "dominance" theorists overlooked the fact that anatomically, eye preference and handedness are unrelated. Although nerve fibers pass from the hands to the opposite hemispheres of the brain, nerve fiber pathways from the eyes follow a different pattern. When these fibers pass through the optic chiasma, they split up into several directions. Thus, an individual's right and left eyes are controlled by both hemispheres and conflicts between the eye and hand do not seem possible (Spache 1970).

## Classroom Implementation of Theory

But where does all this theoretical discussion lead? Is there any one correct theory or answer to the cause of reading difficulties? The aim here was not to come up with the ANSWER as presently it does not exist. Rather, in becoming aware of possible causes, we are better able to recognize and help remediate a greater proportion of our children who may be manifesting characteristics related to reading difficulties. However, just as there is no one ANSWER to the causes, there is no one METHOD to use to remediate. Teachers, educational specialists and psychologists are becoming aware of the need to implement multi-remedial methods in their classrooms and clinics.

In both America and Britain, there are popular "packaged" remediation methods - like Words in Color, I.T.A., VAKT and the Progressive Choice Reading Method - to be used in the classrooms and clinics as well. The question now becomes, "Which method should be used with a given child?" The promoters of all these methods report success and when research studies are devised to test these approaches, results are often of little use because comparisons are made between methods which are essentially uncomparable. For example, programs of visual perceptual training have been compared with training in phonics and the use of I.T.A. has been contrasted with the use of a certain publisher's basal series reader. Comparisons between groups of children have nearly always been misleading because the groups may vary so greatly in proficiency in those abilities which are needed for successful reading. The task of comparing groups is the more complex because abilities which are important in one approach may not have any significance in another one (Frostig 1972).

Meanwhile, especially in Britain, there had been a progressive move in education to individualize teaching methods in order to allow children to develop at their own pace. This idea expanded to include remedial methods as well. The ambiguous results for these studies on the various "packaged" programs provided the incentive for American educators to begin to individualize their remedial reading methods as well. Therefore, a description of any one of these programs would not be relevant or beneficial as they are not usually used as "the method" in remediation. However, a discussion of the process which a teacher follows to develop an individualized method may prove useful. Furthermore an in-depth case study of individualized approaches used in the resource room of one primary school in Britain would be of great value in seeing how theory and practice mesh in the establishment of one school's reading remediation program.

First, in selecting the design for her remediation method (or methods), a teacher must choose that design which will remedy the underlying deficits which makes reading difficult in each individual case. A child may have disabilities in any or all developmental areas - sensory motor functions, visual perception, auditory perception, language (including the ability to associate ideas), the ability to associate input from several sense modalities, concept formation, emotional health, social adjustment and so on. All these psychological functions affect the acquisition of reading skills, so they all need to be taken into account by the teacher.

Of course the second step is trying to solve the question of causation, although this is not always possible. Comprehensive testing is necessary and it may be formal or informal. In either case, evaluation of the underlying disability is useful in initiating a remedial program. However, this testing is never absolute and the teacher need never feel that her program cannot change in light of a child's latent reading difficulties or progression or regression in one or two developmental areas (Frostig 1972).

Thirdly, among other information, the teacher needs to find out if the child's learning difficulties are restricted to reading. A reading deficit alone may only require more intensive teaching or a change in method, but a child who has other symptoms may need a wider range of remedial methods. These may include activities which seem unconnected with reading as we are used to the term. For example, a child may have difficulty in spatial orientation which may call for training in directionality, either through physical exercises or perceptual training or both. Some children have difficulty manipulating symbols and may need exercises where codes are made up by the teacher or secret messages are given with Morse Code. These are both skills that are essential for reading.

Since one of the most frequent causes of reading difficulties is due to a child's inability to integrate the input of several sense modalities (Frostig 1972), an example of the type of individual program a teacher may design for this child may illustrate the previous points.

The teacher, after observing and working awhile with a child exhibiting this type of problem, realizes that the child may be helped when he hears and sees simultaneously what he reads. One method she may devise uses film strips which presents a story in printed sentences with a picture illustrating each sentence. The child reads the sentence aloud as it is presented. This method helps the child to learn to visualize and to form associations between visual and auditory signals as well as between the word that is printed and its meaning. Furthermore, it can produce over-learning because it can be multiply repeated. The following illustration will show exactly how the method is used (Frostig 1972; 159-160). The following sentences presented on a film strip introduce to the child twenty-three primer words.

Example: First, the word 'SCOTTY' is shown, and with the word the face of a dog.
The next frame says: 'SCOTTY WALKS TO THE STORE', and Scotty is shown in front of a store.
The next frame reads: 'SCOTTY GOES INTO THE STORE', and is illustrated as such.
The next frame reads: 'SCOTTY WANTS SOMETHING FOR DINNER' and shows Scotty in front of the counter, begging.
The following frame reads: 'SCOTTY, GO AWAY', and shows the shopkeeper making a threatening gesture; and the next picture illustrates: 'SCOTTY GOES OUT OF THE STORE'.
The next frame shows a house and in front of the house is a little boy calling; the text is 'SCOTTY, SCOTTY, COME HOME.'

The next frame reads: 'SCOTTY GOES INTO THE HOUSE', and Scotty is shown walking though the door.
Finally, the last frame shows Scotty eating and the text is, 'SCOTTY HAS HIS DINNER'.

Other methods have been designed to alleviate difficulties with the second greatest problem that reading remediation teachers deal with, and that is the difficulty with associating auditory and visual stimuli (Frostig 1972). For example, there are writing methods referred to as VAK (visual, auditory, kinesthetic); and tracing methods referred to as VAKT (visual, auditory, kinesthetic, tactile). The use of these two methods helps to form a bridge between spatial perception of the printed word, and the temporal extension of it which the child experiences as he hears it (Frostig 1972: 160). These particular methods are used often in both America and Britain and therefore warrant a brief description.

During the entire time that all the stages of VAKT and VAK are used, words are learned as the child needs them in order to express ideas. At first though, all the words come from the oral language of the child as used to attempt to write about experiences, record ideas, or label pictures after coloring them. At no point in either method does the child copy words. Rather, the child studies the word until able to write it from memory. As the child traces, studies or writes words, they are said as a whole and then in syllables. Each reproduction of the word is checked and the dictionary is used for syllabication and pronunciation. The child always writes at least two successive correct copies before using the word in a story. The teacher also prepares material where the child gets repeated contact with the word. Finally, retention of the word is checked regularly by the teacher. This assures that signs of progress in skills are noticed and systematically evaluated (Money and Schiffman

1972: 149-150).

It has been hoped the previous discussion has provided the reader with a general idea of the approach that a teacher takes to remediation. The following in-depth case study or ethnography is presented to provide the reader with more than a general idea, that is, with specific ideas on why certain activities and methods are used with specific children.

## ETHNOGRAPHY

Walking down the cheerfully colored main hallway of Littlemoor Infant-Junior School (West Yorkshire, Britain), one cannot help notice the large red door at the end. Beyond this brightly painted red door, with the word "Library" written boldly across it, exists a room where reading remediation work is done. The walls bear evidence of the children's written and painted work, giving the room the appearance of being encased by one large collage. The reading remediation teacher, Mrs. G, who spends every Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday morning in this room as well as Tuesday afternoon is just as cheerful as her surroundings. On that first day I visited, she began to explain her schedule to me and a little bit about her program.

She usually has four to five sessions each morning (or afternoon as is the case on Tuesdays) which last approximately one half hour. In each session, there is a range of four to seven children which allows for individual remediation programs to be set up early in the year (in September) and continued for as long as both the remediation teacher and the classroom teacher feel necessary.

Mrs. G prefers to run her program in such a manner. Given considerable freedom in September by the headmaster, she was able to set up groups of this size in order to run completely individualized programs, to pair children off for certain activities, to bring the whole group together for such activities as visits, reading games, and listening stories, as well as to organize project work in which each child plays a distinctive part. An example of this last activity occured soon after I arrived. The second group or session that morning consisted of five eight-year-old boys. Upon entering, they immediately went to the table where a large, half built "rocket" stood. They started working together on it. Used to working on individual projects in their own classroom, these children obviously viewed the reading room as an extension of that work.

"Of course the emphasis here is on reading and reading related activities, although their connection to reading may not be immediately apparent," Mrs. G stated. "All my programs are developed with the intent that reading must come in somewhere along the way, but it is often such a subtle entrance that the children don't even know they are doing reading exercises".

As she mentioned later on, this "subtle" approach to reading remediation is done for two reasons. First, she does not view remediation outside the context of normal education, so, she does everything in her power to continue the idea of individual progress and growth at their own pace (the idealism which is expressed in regular British school classrooms) in her remediation programs. She does not want the child to feel alienated from the remediation room by teaching in a manner which is different from that occurring in the regular classroom. For example, in the classroom, a child is involved in choosing how to complete a math or social studies assignment and after collaborating with the teacher on the idea, actively becomes involved carrying the assignment out. This same idea of "choosing and acting" is done in the remediation room as well. For example, one child approached Mrs. G with the idea of having every child in all her remediation sessions write a poem and submit them to the staff for judging. The best five would then appear on the main bulletin board in the entrance-way on "parent's night". She told the child "fine", but she would have to arrange all the details of discussing it with the other children and securing a place on the bulletin board. So, Mrs. G's programs are built around and within the children's ideas.

Secondly, this subtle approach to remediation is done with the intention of motivating the often reluctant readers who are beginning to realize they cannot read as well or as quickly as their fellow classmates. For example, a child may not do reading assignments in the regular classroom (like staging a performance of Swiss Family Robinson with classmates) because of an inability to read to that level yet. So, Mrs. G does not emphasize or draw attention to a child's weaknesses, but allows strengths to emerge in the individually designed programs. For example, in the case of the rocket that the five boys were building, one child was chosen to read the directions outloud (as the others followed along silently reading them also - a stipulation Mrs. G made). Two other children went to the encyclopedia to discover how that particular rocket should look once built, and another two children were in charge of writing the names of the rocket parts on the completed rocket. After the project was completed, each child who worked on it, was to color a picture of it and write a story about it. So reading, as well as fine motor coordination was being assessed and built up in a project of this type.

With her groups this size, Mrs. G is able to give individual attention to one child at a time, knowing that the others are being kept busy. For example, without disturbing the usual "hub-bub" of the morning's activities, she would call one child up to her desk and work on a particular problem that the child was having, providing concentrated teacher-child interaction for perhaps five to ten minutes. She would try to see every child on this basis if not three times a week, then at least twice. These children came either three or four times a week, depending on the severity of their disability. During this time of individual teacher-child interaction, she would never send a child to work with audio-visual aids such as film loops and slides which could be used individually, nor did she send them to the tape recorder or typewriter she had in the room. These devices were used purely as supplementary material. Work was done with them after the child expressed the interest (which they did often). Then Mrs. G would tape a story or collaborate with the child on what type of reading assignment would be done on the device. Therefore, these devices were used throughout the year, but never as a substitute, nor in conjunction with that time set aside for individual teacher-child interaction. For example, one day Mrs. G was working with Graham who seemed to have a problem with the visual sequencing of letters in words since he would mispronounce several words on a page when he read outloud, seeming not to take note of the interior letters of a word. After individual work with flash cards were completed (where he had to trace with his fingers each letter of the word he mispronounced, along with looking at the letter and pronouncing the letter sound outloud), he was only then permitted to work on the tape-recorder. When Mrs. G asked him what he wanted to do, he shrugged his shoulders, saying he didn't know. Mrs. G suggested that he read a story into the tape recorder, then play it back following the story in the book to see if he could catch any of his own mistakes. He was allowed to decide what to do about his mistakes. He could erase the whole thing and read the story into the tape-recorder a second time, or he could find the place in the tape and attempt to erase the mistake by re-reading that sentence with the error in it, or he could turn the tape in, with the mistakes, if there were only a few. It turned out to be a challenge for him but he did take note of the interior letters, reading the story perhaps slower than he normally did, but nevertheless, hearing and correcting those errors for himself once he played the tape back.

Progress reports are kept on every child from the time that they start in the remediation room until the time they stop coming. Mrs. G 's aim is to "wean" the child from the resource room if it was possible before the end of the school term in July. When the child comes in for the first time in September, Mrs. G allows the child to pick any book to read in the room (and there are numerous books as the resource room is the school's library as well). The child then reads it silently first. She takes careful note of the level of the book (its difficulty level) and compares it to the mental age of the child (as determined from past records kept by every teacher the child ever had). She continues her informal assessment of the reading level by having the child read outloud this same story. She rarely does standardized testing on a child, preferring to assess strengths and weaknesses in this informal manner and in the work done within the first few weeks. She feels remediation must be flexible, changing as the child's latent strengths and weaknesses emerge throughout the year. However, on request from the classroom teacher or the headmaster or if she is unsure of her initial plan for remediation, she will give the child a standardized test. Also, she will give the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test only on request.

In the early stages of assessment, little follow-up work was done in the regular classroom, but as time went on, her aim was to involve the classroom teacher more and more. This was done in three ways: (1) The class teacher would visit the resource room and see the students at work. The teacher would be then encouraged to borrow some of the materials to use in the classroom. (2) On off-mornings or afternoons, Mrs. G occasionally visits the classroom, mainly coming in as an observer. (3) The students would be given the opportunity at certain times to use self-corrective materials in their classroom. Most of the time, these were the materials borrowed from the remediation room or purchased by the classroom teacher. After several months, Mrs. G hoped that a child would need to come less often to the room, allowing the classroom teacher to take back full responsibility for the child's reading progress. With this aim in mind, spaces for other children in the school would open up, while allowing the children who really need the intensive all year long remediation to receive it.

Now that the theoretical reasoning for the program has been discussed, a brief description of the types of activities provided to help remediate some areas of reading disabilities will be mentioned.

One area which Mrs. G feels much work needs to be done in is visual perception. Visual perception is important she feels because it is involved in a great many classroom activities, such as painting, learning from pictures, number work, and reading. Any weakness in visual perception can impair performance in all these activities. However, she realizes that when you train a child in visual perceptual skills using stimuli other than letters and words, there must be a transfer to reading which may be difficult. She has found ways to link language with action and arrangement. This is probably especially important in learning concepts of direction and orientation. She often uses words like "up", "down", "left", "right", "corner", "across", and "sideways", as the child points, builds or is drawing in reading assignments. Also, one child who confused visually similar letters like: c/e, h/d, w/n, r/n, n/u was taught with a verbal description of the letter shape until she could form the letters consistently without any trouble.

One series that Mrs. G had called "Breakthrough To Literacy" contained word folders that acted as a convenient means to store known words which the children used to copy and compose their own sentences. One child Julie, a nine-year-old, had difficulty in keeping to a left-to-right sequence so Mrs. G drew a masking card across a model sentence she had made-up, one word at a time. Mrs. G read the sentence first as this was done, and then Julie read it. It was during their individual time together that Mrs. G took the words that were to be arranged in order by Julie from the "Breakthrough to Literacy" folder. Then more sentences were set out at a given time, allowing for greater emphasis to be placed on left-to-right sequencing. The following activities were some of the things she used with children with visual perceptual problems: bingo, recognizing silhouettes, hidden figures, and identifying dotted outlines. These were the ones I observed out of the many I am sure she uses for children with visual perceptual problems.

Another area that Mrs. G worked on while I was there was developing children's immediate auditory memory or increasing the amount of information that a child can retain in proper sequence after having heard it. She feels in training the auditory memory, she is training several underlying processes such as the child's ability and willingness to listen, to attend only to the immediate task. In the methods I observed, all the activities were presented with a sequence of words or symbols which the child either repeated or acted upon. For example, one day she had the children sitting in a circle and since it was almost time for their summer "holiday" or vacation to start, she had them play "The holiday game". This consisted of one child saying "I am going on holiday. I will put socks in my suitcase." The second child, Ian, said, "I am going on holiday. I will put socks and pants in my suitcase." Each child repeated the previous list and added a new item. A second activity involved matching an auditory rhythm with its visual equivalent in dots and dashes while later that same day Mrs. G said a series of letters, repeating them with one missing while the children had to figure out which one was missing.

The last area in which a great deal of remedial work was done was in phonic blending skills. The reason for this has to do with the way reading is initially taught to five year old children in Britain. A phonetic approach is used in which children initially learn the sounds of letters while not learning the letter names until at least a year afterwards. Many children have difficulty learning the pronunciation of new words as they go through school, if they have trouble with blending.

Therefore, with almost every child, Mrs. G would prepare a list of the new words that the child would encounter in the next few pages of the book the child was reading. She would give the child some audio-vocal practice in blending those words that were likely to be able to be worked out phonetically when encountered. Also, letter tiles were provided so the child could manipulate the graphemes. This was the case with one boy, Ian, who had digraphs as well as single letters because he had trouble thinking of pairs of letters like "ea" and "ir" as being a single phonetic entity. One set of published material that she had in the class, but which I had not observed in use, was called "Phonics Blending-Letter-Shifting Sequences, Attacking New Words". This was put out by the Remedial Supply Company, London for use with the tape-recorder.

So, with this brief but concise description of the theoretical and practical application of a reading remediation program in one school in Britain, the reader can form an evaluative opinion. The experience this study offered allowed me to assess remediation within the wider context of educational philosophy as a whole in Britain. Keeping with the idea that a child develops at an individual developmental pace, there is a certain faith in both the child and the educational system, that each will act upon the other, shaping and changing it to meet the needs of the future.

## Conclusion

Reviewing the historical development which helped shape present day definitions of dyslexia, acceptable to some (but not all) American and British educators, psychologists, and physicians, we can see how this term went through its process of refinement. Yet the question of "How much more clear should the concept be made?" remains to be answered as we attempt to reach and help the greatest number of that portion of the population who have normal intelligence, emotional stability, and adequate opportunity to learn, yet manifest a difficulty in some aspect of reading.

Potentially, the aim of reading remediation is to reach all these children, however , finances, resources and geographic isolation, to name a few, are variables which interfere with this aim.

By beginning with the realization that reading is a complex process which is hard for most children to learn, it is not difficult to reason why some children fail in their attempts to master and use reading in their educational development, but is difficult to understand specifically why, or what caused an individual's failure in reading. Yet by studying genetic or neurological links to reading failures, we have developed theories which can be constantly analyzed within the on-going research study on dyslexia.

Yet just as theories of causation are developed, remedial methods are developed as well. Although remediation methods are often not devised by neurologists and psychologists, for large numbers of children as theories often are, methods and theories follow a similar developmental pattern. For example, in devising both, observation and description of the weaknesses takes place. In terms of theories, large numbers of people are observed and described; in terms of remediation, a single child is observed and described. After a theory or method is devised, it is constantly being analyzed, changed and sometimes discarded, in light of new discoveries. In the case of a theory, it is assessed in terms of new research results; in the case of a method, it is assessed, changed and dispensed with as the child's (or adult's) latent weaknesses and progressional strengths become apparent. Both theories and methods need to be flexible in order for future developments in dyslexia to be most beneficial in reaching the previously mentioned aim for remedial education.

My part in all this was to provide the reader with some of the most recent and well researched material on the definition of dyslexia, some popular theories of causation of dyslexia, and the process by which remediation programs are established. Furthermore, the case study of a school's remediation program in Britain was undertaken to provide educators in America and Britain with an insight into how theory and practice interact in one school's remedial program, without an attempt to evaluate its effectiveness. Feeling that these goals were accomplished, the natural question that comes to mind is, "What does the future hold in terms of continuing work in the area of dyslexia?" At present, all we can hope for is a closer realization of our major aim in remediation -- to help the greatest number of children, accounting for individual needs, learn to overcome their reading disability.

## REFERENCES

Boder, E.
1970 "Developmental dyslexia: A screening procedure based on characteristic patterns of reading and spelling". Claremont Reading Conference, 32nd Yearbook. London, England: Claremont Reading Conference.

Bryant, N.P. and R.R. Patterson
1962 "Reading disability as part of a syndrome of neurological functioning". Paper presented at the International Reading Association. London, England: International Reading Association.

Clarke, L.
1976 Can't Read, Can't Write, Can't Takl Too Good Either. New York, N.Y.: Penguin Books.

Critchley, MacDonald
1970 The Dyslexic Child. London, England: Whitefriars Press.

Frostig, Marianne
1969 "Film and discussion on visual perceptual disturbances". Sydney, Australia: Dyslexia Symposium.

Gillram, W.E.C.
1974 Teaching a Child to Read. London, England: University of London Press.

Goldberg, Hermann K. and Gilbert Schiffman
1972 Dyslexia: Problems of Reading Disabilities. New York, N.Y.: Grune and Stratton.

Gurney, Roger
1976 Language, Learning and Remedial Teaching. Frome, England: Edward Arnold.

Hart, J.A. and J.A. Ricardson
1971 Books for the Retarded Reader. London, England: Ernest Been.

Jackson, Stephan
1971 Get Reading Right. Glasgow, Scotland: Gibson.

Johnson, Doris and Helmer Myklebust
1967 Learning Disabilities: Educational Principles and Practices. New York, N.Y.: Grune and Stratton.

Money, E.R. and Gilberg Schiffman
1969 The Disabled Reader. New York, N.Y.: Routledge and Kegan.

Moseley, David
1975 Special Provision for Reading. London, England: NFER.

Penfield, Robert
1971 Speech and Brain Mechanisms. Trenton, New Jersey: University Press.

Silver, A.A. and R.A. Hagin
1969 "Specific reading disability". Journal of Orthopsychiatry.

Southgate, Vera and Geoffrey Roberts
1970 Reading: Which Approach? London, England: University of London Press.

Spache, George (ed.)
1969 Reading Disability and Perception, Vol. 13, Part 3. London, England: International Reading Association.

Tansley, Anthony
1967 Reading and Remedial Reading. London, England: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Yardley, A.
1970 Exploration and Language. London, England: Evan Brothers.

# THE SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION:

## Practice makes Perfect vs. Practical makes Purposeful

by

Jani Lazarow

The current educational practice in British infant schools is that of informal education. Informal education has been defined by Lillian Weber as follows:

> Informal, as I understand it, refers to the setting, the arrangements, the teacher-child and child-child relationships that maintain, restimulate if necessary, and extend what is considered to be the most intense form of learning, the already existing child's way of learning through play and through experiences he seeks out for himself.
>
> The active force of such learning is considered to be curiosity, interest, and the need of a child's own search for definition and relevance. The school setting or environment must be rich enough to foster and maintain this curiosity, it must be free enough to allow and even to help each individual follow the path indicated by his curiosity. Entwined with the experience gained through a child's own use of the school environment is the learning of skills, because skills are needed in the process. How a child would learn in the school setting was also individual -- he would learn in his own way, at his own pace, exploring his own interests, for his own purposes.
>
> (Weber 1971: 11)

The term "informal education" was introduced to Great Britain in the early 1900's but its evolution was slow and consequently the actual practice of informal education was slow to infiltrate the classroom. The development of this progressive education was influenced by societal changes and research of social scientists. Changes in teaching methods and school curriculums have resulted from informal methodology.

### History and Philosophy of Informal Education in the Infant School

The history and philosophy of British informal education can be traced back to the beginning of the twentieth century. The first third of the twentieth century was a period when the standard of living declined for most working-class families (Whitbread 1972: 53). Due to the low economic standing of these families there was a tremendous need for mothers to work in order to increase the family income. Their young children were sent to school where a secure environment was provided for the child while both the mother and father were working. However, a lack of nursery schools at this time required these children of under five years to be placed in infant classes and consequently, infant classes were very large, often consisting of 60 - 80 pupils. The only means for controlling such large classes was by formal, traditional teaching instruction where children were seated in rows of desks while the teacher stood up front and taught a lesson. The child's acquisition of knowledge was through memorization of the lesson that the teacher presented before him. Therefore, the informal style of teaching was slow to pervade infant schools.

By 1905 inspectors were condemning this formal education for children under age 5 because these children were not being encouraged to develop according to their individual growth by means of extending their natural play environment for children of this age. In 1906 the essays of John Dewey, an American educational researcher, were brought to the attention of British educators. John Dewey writes of his ideas on education (1908: 18):

> The fundamental factors of the educative process are an immature, undeveloped being, and certain social aims, meanings and values incarnate in the material experience of an adult. The educative process is the due interaction of these forces.

Dewey's approach toward education required teachers to allow for learning to take place through doing. He writes (1906: 31), "Learning is active. It involves reaching out of the mind. It involves organic assimilation starting from within."

At the same time that Dewey was researching education in America, Maria Montessori was doing similar work in Italy, at first working with subnormal children. She postulated that there is "a hidden child, a buried living being, who must be liberated. Here is the first urgent task of education: liberation in this sense means knowledge or indeed a discovery of the unknown...there is the new aim of education: first of all to discover the child and effect his liberation " (Montessori: 127). The means by which she sought to liberate the child was through physical manipulation of objects and development of the senses in a structured environment where children learned to enjoy learning. Education of the senses was to occur through manipulation of structured apparatus such as graduated rods and geometric insets. The use of structured apparatus in a structured environment would require the educator to "guide but not force the child, to direct but not instruct " (Whitbread 1972: 58).

Therefore, while Dewey emphasized the importance of providing for the full growth of the individual by relating all aspects of education to the child's personal life, Maria Montessori sought out specific means for creating an environment that would enhance the growth of the individual child.

By the first ten to twelve years of the twentieth century there was evidence of freer attitudes toward education in infant schools that was influenced by Dewey, Montessori, and teacher training schools but attitudes on the whole were slow to change. Then, in 1915 at the conference of New Ideals in Education, a new spirit toward education was formed as "reverence for the pupil's individuality and a belief that individuality grows but in an atmosphere of freedom " (Whitbread 1972: 88).

Margaret McMillan's approach to education was consistent with this train of thought when she started her open-air school in Bradford in 1913. The children at this school were suffering from physical disabilities which she attributed to their "having been obliged to sit all day with their legs tucked under a table" (McMillan 1923: 34). She believed that the natural environment would help the child develop intellectually as well as physically but disagreed with Montessori's highly structured learning. She believed that a freer environment would provide more opportunity for informal learning as in a middle-class household.

Later, Susan Isaacs, whose thoughts were influenced by Dewey, was forming her own opinion of the function of the nursery school. She made observations at the Experimental Malting House School in 1924, where children were "free to follow their own interests and inclinations... living the conditions of maximum freedom " (Whitbread 1972: 69). As a result of her observations she concluded that the function of the nursery was to promote individual intellectual growth. She claimed that: "the children are free to explore and experiment with the physical world... the teacher is there to meet this free inquiry and activity by his skill in bringing together the material and the situations which may give children the means of answering their own questions about the world " (Whitbread 1972: 70,71). Isaacs later became head of the child development Department at the London Institute of Education and became most influential in advocating the need to understand child development in teacher training.

The Hadow Report of 1933 expanded on Isaacs' beliefs. The Report stated that "any realistic view of education must consider the infant school not as a place of instruction, but as an instructive environment in which the child, under the sympathetic care of the teacher may cultivate his own garden" (1933; xviii).

Educational and social science research of the middle decades helped support this train of thought by showing that intellectual development of the child could be fostered by an environment rich in opportunities for experiment and exploration. Among these, Jean Piaget was especially influential. His theory of cognitive development claims that children pass through a series of sequential stages in their intellectual growth and the school must "concentrate on activities and experiences that will allow the logical development to occur and then the basic concepts will emerge " (Isaacs 1963: 22).

The trend toward informal education was further perpetuated by the Education Act of 1944 which drew attention to the importance of the school providing an environment where the child could grow imaginatively as well as intellectually. Finally in 1967 the Plowden Report was published which summarized much of the research done over the century and concluded that "at the heart of the educational process lies the child" (vol. I: 7) and therefore, in order to recognize the individual child and his/her individual development the school's educational practice must be of informal methodology.

Obviously, the development of informal education as it exists today, was a slow process. The acceptance of informal methodology was slow, and even today the issue of traditional (or formal) vs. progressive (or informal) education is still a heated debate.

On one hand, the model of informal education is consistent with ideas of various theorists such as Dewey, Montessori, McMillan, Isaacs, and Piaget who all agree that children's intellectual development is individual and therefore must be fostered by means of an informal environment where they can explore and discover on their own, in their own way, and for their own purposes (Weber 1971: 11). The informal classroom promotes such development to occur by allowing the child to first acquire skills by means of experiencing with concrete materials that relate to the child's environment. Then, after the skills are learned the child will formulate the abstract principles and processes that accompany the skills.

However, the value of progressive education has also been questioned for several reasons. First of all, it is hard to maintain standardization among students, classes and schools with informal education because there are no specific forms of standardization through core curriculums. Therefore, it is hard to create equal education for all. Also, the transition from one level school to another is made more difficult due to this lack of standardization because there are no expectations of the child to reach a certain point of intellectual development by a specific age. Another problem of informal education is that assessments of each child's abilities are much harder to make because there are no tests. Therefore, in short, the relative beneficiality of progressive education vs. traditional education remains questionable.

## Research Methods

The progressive model of education plays an important role in math education whereby the use of concrete manipulatives leads to formulating abstract principles. I have conducted a study where I have observed two classrooms at Westfield Infant School in Yeadon, West Yorkshire so that I could assess how "informalness" was achieved in each class and specifically how this "informalness" affected mathematics education.

Westfield Infant School is located in the suburban town of Yeadon. The majority of students attending the school are from middle to upper class families. The school serves approximately 220 children from ages five to seven who are divided among seven classes. My study was conducted from June 24, 1977 to July 19, 1977 during which time I spent 5 full days and 4 half days observing and participating in two classrooms, a 6-year-old class and a 7-year-old class. The school was defined as "informal" by the headmistress. I was interested in seeing how the "informalness" was achieved in each classroom and in evaluating the effect of this environment on the math program.

My research project was to investigate how the method of instruction in mathematics related to the progressive and traditional models of education and how the children's level of achievement was affected by each method. Therefore, my research project was not supposing to settle or to provide answers to the debate of progressive vs. traditional education but rather to find the strengths and weaknesses of informal education in the British educational system with specific reference to the math curriculum.

The means by which the study was done consisted of collecting field notes from my two placements at Westfield so that I could study the delivery system of the math concepts from the teacher to the students. I also conducted interviews with the teachers from each of these classes to receive their impressions on the math program.

Another part of the study was concerned with formulating answers to how standardization was achieved within the school, between schools of the same level, and in the transition stage from one level of school to the next. I conducted four interviews for this purpose. Two of the interviews were with heads, one was headmistress of Westfield Infant School and one was headmaster of Queensway Infant and Junior School in Guiseley. The other two interviews were with infant teachers of authority in their school. One of these interviews was done with the deputy head of Westfield who helped devise the guidelines in mathematics for the school, and the other interview was conducted with an infant school teacher at Queensway who was also chairman of the infant school. These four interviews helped me investigate how the problem of lack of standardization is overcome.

In summary, the study investigated the math program of the infant school in general, and the extent to which standardization in mathematics is maintained among classes and schools. To the extent that standardization is maintained then what was the means for doing so and if not, then to describe how they were different. Comparisons were drawn between teachers, schools, and methods of teaching mathematics to determine how each is influenced by informal education.

## The Effects of the Philosophy of Informal Education on Mathematics

The development and acceptance of informal education in Great Britain has had a great effect on school mathematics. The result of the change in education toward informality has adjusted the math program in two areas: first, the method of teaching math and second, the content of the math curriculum. Both of these changes have occured as repercussions of the historical development of informal education. However, the change in method has been especially influenced by the research findings of social scientists such as Montessori and Piaget; while the change in curriculum can mainly be attributed to the societal changes. Each of these two aspects of math education will be regarded on two levels: the explanation of each in theory, and the application of each in practice as observed in my placements. While each area will be approached individually it is to be understood that they are both interrelated and interdependent on one another in order to achieve acquisition of mathematical skills and concepts.

## Methods of Educating Children in Mathematics.

Due to the implementation of informal education in Great Britain, the methods of teaching mathematics have changed drastically. The teaching of math used to be done in a very formalized manner where "the children worked from a textbook and the idea was to get the number facts by constant repetition and practice" (Maths with Everything, 1971). However, due to the new influx of thought derived from informal education the emphasis of mathematics turned toward the experiences of the individual child and his need to explore and discover on his own through the use of concrete, manipulative objects in order to develop mathematical skills.

Jean Piaget's research as reported in The Child's Conception of Number (1952) provided support for the sequential development of math concepts from the concrete manipulative stage to the stage where children can make their own abstractions. He reasoned that concrete materials provide a firm background against which new information can be assimilated in order to formulate abstract concepts. Nathan Isaacs writes, "Piaget has shown that the development of the notion of number is part of the organized logical structure of a child's growth and until his notion of number is established, the foundation for any meaningful learning of arithmetic is lacking... Therefore school arithmetic must concentrate on activities and experiences that will allow the logical development to occur and then the basic concepts will emerge " (Isaacs 1963: 22).

The means by which this "logical development" occurs is an integral part of the philosophy behind the informal classroom. The setting must be free enough so that children can learn by their own activities. The setting must also be individual so that children can develop at their own pace depending on their chronological and mental ages. However, the teacher can accelerate the children's learning by providing suitable and stimulating experiences which will allow discovery to precede practice in formulating abstract concepts.

The need for teachers to recognize their role in the child's process of acquiring knowledge in mathematics is essential. Susan Isaacs describes the role of the educator as follows:

> ...the educator cannot teach the child nor can he learn for him. All that he can do is to create such situations as will give the child opportunities to learn for himself. In this regard he has to control the social environment of the child as well as the physical, in order to make it possible for the child to learn. The child can, however, learn only by his own real experience, whether social or physical, and the educator must not stand between the child and his experience. (reported in Weber 1971: 177-178)

Infant teachers generally seem to be in favor of learning by doing and are again supported by Piaget who claims that "young children learn by getting involved, by acting, by experiencing mathematics rather than just learning it from a book " (Maths with Everything, 1971).

In each of the classrooms that I observed there was a free environment where children were arranged in groups according to ability, and within each group the child worked at his/her individual pace. Usually in this setting the child is not held back by the slow learner, nor is he left behind as the slow learner. A certain structure is imposed by the level of the group and this provides a certain degree of encouragement for the child to progress. Manipulatives such as counters are easily accessible to the children. The children feel free to use them and are encouraged to do so whenever necessary. Concepts are often introduced to a group of children by means of a demonstration and then the child works individually with his/her set of materials to develop and interpret the concept as he/she is ready to progress.

As a result of my observations and interviews I have found that the introduction of a new concept to a small group rather than to an individual or the whole class has been fairly common practice. The rationale behind such methodology is threefold. First, the children can participate in demonstrating the principle because "they are motivated by their own involvement " (Taylor 1976: 106). Secondly, the children can talk about it with one another and help communicate procedure and ideas. Lastly, a close communication between teacher and student occurs which is necessary to formulate new concepts (Taylor 1976: 106).

I observed and participated in an experience in the 6-year-old class at Westfield where the above mentioned situation occured. This was a lesson on "counting back" (subtraction). The teacher explained that she wanted me to cut out strips of paper for the children to construct their own number strips (number lines). The children were to number the strip from one to twenty. The activity in "counting back" consisted of questions such as "17 count back 3." Then each child was to work out the answer on his/her number strip and I would check the results.

An increase in accuracy is to be expected with the use of concrete materials and this did occur. I noted in my journal, "These children were very quick to get the answers and they were answered correctly the majority of the time."

Also, there were a couple of examples where the children were motivated by their own involvement.

> At the end of the activity, one girl walked away and said, "I wonder what 20 count back 20 is?" I said, "try it." She said, "It's one." I repeated, "try it!" She started counting back from 20 and had only counted back to 19 when she reached 1. She reasoned that 20 count back 19 was 1, rather than 20 count back 20 equalling 1.

A short while later I was working with another group on the same activity when an interesting incident occured.

> I asked the question "15 count back 8". One girl said, "can't do it!" I said, "Try it." She worked it out on the number strip and found the correct answer.

The use of concrete materials in the above mentioned circumstances was essential to formulating answers.

During this activity I took the opportunity to encourage communication between the children. When the children had grasped the procedure of the activity I let them play "teacher" and take turns making up problems to ask the rest of the group. This proved to be a valuable experience because the children had to form their own thoughts about the kind of question to be asked for which the answer could be between the numbers of one and twenty. In subtraction, this involves making sure that the first number is greater than the second. This activity evoked a different set of thought processes and therefore encouraged a different perspective of subtraction. Amazingly, the result was that no one asked a problem that couldn't be answered within the number of one and 20.

The ability for an activity, such as this, to encourage communication between students and involvement of the students in actual procedure is certainly a strength of informal education in mathematics. However, one incident occured during this activity that leads one to question the extent to which the use of concrete materials needs to be encouraged. I noted:

> At one point in the activity John said that he was cheating some and Phil said that he was too. I asked what they meant by cheating and John said that he wasn't counting back all the time, sometimes he was just moving the marker to the answer. I asked him how he knew the answer and he shrugged his shoulders and said, "I just know it!" Phil said that he was "doing the same thing".

I found this interaction fascinating. It made me wonder if these boys were developing at their own pace. If these boys had abstracted the basic facts why, for example, were they being encouraged to use unnecessary props. The perception of learning a concept as "cheating" also makes me question if the advancement to abstract thinking is inhibited by too frequent usage of manipulative objects.

However, the availability of manipulative materials is considered an important aspect of the math program if individual discovery and development is to occur. The Plowden Report (1967: 237) states: "Now many infant schools arrange equipment so that children can themselves discover relationships between numbers and the counting sequence." It is through the concrete materials that the teacher can stimulate the interest of the children in mathematics. Once these children are set out on the road of discovery they should be able to build on their discoveries in order to later formulate basic mathematical ideas and concepts.

There were several concrete materials in each classroom that I observed for use in mathematics. Many of these were: Lego blocks for construction, empty spools of thread and bottle caps to be used as counters, number strips, plastic building blocks to be used for counters, cash register for use in a shop, modeling clay for forming shapes, a balancing scale with two pans, metric stackable weights, pine cones and shells for measuring, measuring tape, centimeter sticks, cuisenaire rods, and attribute blocks.

Maria Montessori's philosophy of the need for structured apparatus to guide a child toward developing abstract concepts has influenced the math program in British infant schools. The Birmingham Education Committee claims that "the need for structured apparatus in the teaching of mathematics is considered to be vital " (1974: 31). Their report Progress in Primary Mathematics, goes on to explain that "the teacher should be fully acquainted with the theory behind the construction of the apparatus and personally should have used it in the way that the designer intended. The organization of the use of such apparatus...needs to be carefully planned." The point that I question is if materials need to be structured so formally then is the child really learning in his own way?

A brief explanation of some of this structured apparatus is included in a following section. Two of these such materials are cuisenaire rods and attribute blocks, both of which were found at Westfield Infant School.

Cuisenaire rods are a series of graduated colored rods designed to show relationships of numbers. They are designed to help children with their understanding of a) reversibility, b) conservation, c) series (ordering), d) correspondence, and e) classification, which are concepts developed in the infant stage. "Children should only use these as long as necessary " (1974: 33).

Attribute blocks are a set of geometric shapes which vary in size, shape, and color. These blocks can be used for matching and forming sets (i.e., the red squares) which are concrete operations. These activities are designed to help the child recognize properties of objects (i.e., size, shape, and color). Later, the child will realize that number is a property referring to a set of objects just like color, size, and shape. No object, for example, can have the property "two," but a set of objects can have the property "two."

The purpose of each apparatus is very clearly stated but the extent of the usage in conjunction with their intended purpose is questionable. For example, quite often I observed children using cuisenaire rods for the sole purpose of counting. Nevertheless, regardless of the materials intended purpose, concrete manipulatives were used quite often in math activities that I observed (in the 6-year-old class especially). The activity using number strips for subtraction, which was mentioned previously, is only one example. The most amazing aspect about the use of the manipulatives is that a child never displayed any reluctance to use these materials whenever necessary. In fact, enthusiasm toward manipulatives is almost a must when encouraged by the teacher because concepts become concretized and accuracy increases as well.

It is here, where the child's enthusiasm is evoked and encouraged, that the influence of informal education in mathematics can be seen most clearly. The influx of informal methodology in the area of mathematics can be explained by a change in the philosophy of methods from a change in development of the "how" to the "what" of a number -- the difference between how the numbers are operated in order to get an answer, and what a number really is (Biggs 1963: 60).

### Math Curriculum

The restructure of the current math curriculum has resulted as a consequence of modern society. At the turn of the century teaching of mathematics was of a very formalized nature. It was at this time when math was known as "the problem subject" (Isaacs 1963: 20) because children were merely performing the mechanical procedures of computation. Many children were scared of math because it was a matter of "getting it right" or "getting it wrong". There was no effort to stress the "what" or "why's" behind the problem. Now however, "we realize that it is necessary for the child to be familiar with the purpose of a number" (Elias 1972: 77). The main emphasis of current math curriculums has been to elicit understanding an enjoyment in the subject so that the symbolic representations will transform into real thoughts and situations rather than exist solely as symbols of a foreign language.

Much of the change in thought in mathematics can be attributed to the technological advancement of society. To begin with, there is no longer a need for clerks to do calculations because computers have been developed to do this type of work. Secondly, now that industry has become so advanced there is a need for people to interpret situations and understand mathematical processes so that they can run and devise the programs of the computers and machinery.

As a result, there is now a need for more people to understand the processes of mathematics and the logic behind it. It is believed that if children begin learning mathematics in a way so as to interest them and to see the pattern and logic of the subject, they will be stimulated toward further study. There is no longer a need or a desire for children to learn by rote. Instead there is a desire for children to think independently and creatively so that they can discover patterns by themselves (patterns such as commutative property, associative property). If these children are exposed to such principles at an early stage (in a simpler form) then later when these principles are needed for more advanced math they will only have to recall what they have already done rather than learn something completely new (The Teaching of Mathematics in the Primary School 1972).

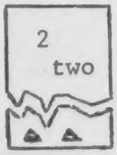
Although much of the change in math curriculum has resulted from modern development of a technological society, the influence of informal philosophies on education are also apparent. One of the philosophies behind the British informal education is that the child "would learn in his own way, at his own pace, exploring his own interests, for his own purposes" (Weber 1971: 11). If this theory is to be carried out in practice then any specific form of standardization through core curriculums must be nonexistent. This is in fact the situation in Great Britain. There is no standardized math curriculum to be followed by all schools and teachers. However, there are guidelines set up and published that suggest a sequential listing of math concepts to be developed. The following list of concepts have been suggested in Mathematics in Primary Schools (1972: 11, 12) as being possible for most children to learn by the age of seven and eight.

1. Pre-counting Experiences: sorting and classifying objects into sets. Comparing sizes of two sets by making one-to-one correspondence; learning the language (and later the symbols) of "is greater than" and "is less than."
2. Counting, Conservation of Number, Composition of of Number: counting the number of objects in a set (cardinal number). This involves assigning a name and symbol to each number. Conservation of number. Composition of numbers up to ten (without counting on or counting back). Addition of 9 and 10, to numbers 1 through 10. Knowledge of doubling up to 2 x 20. Knowledge of reversibility of addition (i.e., 2 + 7 = 7 + 2, commutivity of addition).
3. Numbers in sequence: place-value: the number line. Knowledge of ordinal numbers to 100. Growing awareness of place value in the number notation.
4. Measures and money: Conservation of measures. Knowledge of the relationship between one unit and another (i.e., two 50p pieces = 1 pound).
5. Fractions: Simple fractions; halves, quarters, three quarters.
6. The operations of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division: varied aspects of these four operations as they arise in the real situations of the classroom.
7. Shape and size.

The guidelines are to be utilized as a framework which the individual schools must interpret in order to formulate their own guidelines for their math curriculum. These concepts must also be transformed from theory into practice by relating the mathematical concepts to the child's life and environment.

The earliest math experiences are those concerned with sets of objects. Children select a set of objects to suit their immediate needs, for example, collecting scrap materials for an art project, collecting objects for cooking in the Wendy house, and selecting objects for dressing. The formation of these sets leads to one-to-one correspondence -- for example, the state government supplies one pint of milk daily for each student under 7 years. At a specific time in the morning (usually 10:15 - 10:30) one milk is distributed to each child and a one-to-one mapping is established. This concept of one-to-one correspondence extends into ideas of "greater than" and "less than" for example, when children are absent and there are more pints of milk than children, or fewer children than pints of milk. These ideas of "greater than" and "less than" lead into the concept of counting.

Counting involves placing each object from a set into one-to-one correspondence with a name of a number. In the 6-year-old class I found materials entitled "number-name jigsaw." This activity was a practice in matching objects in a set to a number. A sample card looked like this:



Another example of how counting is introduced was in the form of a reading book that I observed at Tunstall Nursery School in East Croyden. The book in entitled Farming with Numbers. The story is about one farm, owned by 2 people, a farmer and his wife. The story continued to introduce the numbers 1-10 by making references to objects on the farm. A pictorial representation of the number of objects is on the right hand page while the story and the numbers are written on the left page. The number of objects on the right hand page must be counted in order to get the symbolic "number name" for the set. For example, there were 8 eggs, 4 were brown (2 light, 2 dark) and 4 were white. These eggs must be counted from the pictorial representation in order to match up with the symbolic number name of "8". Some examples of work cards that were observed in the 6-year-old class that extend the learning of this concept are "Draw 3 in this set □," or having a picture of 4 birds and then asking "How many in this set?".

The next concepts to be developed are conservation of number and composition of number. These two concepts can be joined together in an activity where children are given a circular tin (the set), a straw (to serve as a partitioner), and a certain number of blocks to represent a number, 9, for example. I observed this activity in the 6-year-old class. The children are to partition the set of 9 blocks as many ways as possible. The first step is to place the straw in the center of the tin. Next place all 9 blocks on the left hand side. The problem represented here is 9 and 0 → 9. Next the child moves 1 block to the right hand side of the tin to represent 8 and 1 → 9. This procedure is continued until 0 and 9 → 9 is obtained. The child is learning conservation of a number because the set of 9 is remaining constant and the child is simultaneously learning how the number nine is composed of smaller numbers. This eventually leads to development of the commutative property of addition (i.e., 7 + 2 = 2 + 7 = 9).

Learning the sequence of number (ordinal numbers) can be done with the use of a number line. In one class, the teacher had the children construct their own number strips from 1 to 20 by cutting strips of large-sized grid squares and then numbering each square from 1 to 20. Then the children were told to find "13 and 3." The children would place a marker on 13 and then count 3. Another marker was then placed on 16. In the 7-year-old class there was a bulletin board entitled "The Bus Queue." This bus queue consisted of 20 persons who were labeled 1 - 20 corresponding to their place in line. In both of the examples above, the ordering of the numbers from 1 to 20 are stressed.

Obviously, when children have proceeded to this point they are slowly being introduced to place value of tens and ones. Simple exersizes in the understanding of "tens" can be constructed by having a visual representation of 1 set of 10, for example, a large circle containing 10 smaller objects. This representation of "ten" can be expanded into 2 sets of 10, etc. The child will slowly learn to count by tens to 100 by adding up each set of ten. When place value has proceeded to this point (100), sample exersizes observed in the 7-year-old class were: "How many tens in 100?" "How many twenties in 100?" "How many ones in 100?"

It is important that the child understands place value so that later the child can use other bases, other than 10, especially binary which is used in electronic computer work. One class of 10-and 11-year-olds at Littlemoor Infant and Junior School in Rawdon were observed to have been working with base 3 and 4. The fact that children can manage work of this sort supports their understanding of cardinal number.

Children's experiences with measurement must be concrete in nature. A book at Tunstall Nursery School introduced ideas of sizes in a book entitled Sizes. This book compared sizes of similar objects. For example, there was a picture of 2 cats, one large and one small. The child had to note which cat was larger than the other. Later in the book the idea of size was put into a very practical purpose, for instance, sizes of people were compared - a small boy and a grown man. Implementing size in this fashion integrates the fact that size is not always constant, in this case people's size change with age. Word cards from the 6-year-old class at Westfield start with developing concepts of longer and shorter by making comparisons between two different objects. This extends to work cards like "Look out the window. Write 5 things taller than you." The next step is to measure the length of things by using a standard unit of measure (i.e., a pencil is used at first -- "use a pencil to measure the length of the shoe case"). Later, after the idea of a standard unit of measure is understood, the ruler is introduced as a unit of measure.

Understanding measurement with weight also needs to be developed. Early concepts of lighter and heavier are learned the same way as longer and shorter. In the 7 year old class there were work cards that read "How many peas weigh 6 grammes?" "—— peas weigh 5 grammes." and "Get a 10 gramme weight. Which two balance it? Find objects in the room to balance it."

Time is another aspect of measurement to be learned. The teacher from the 6-year-old class had a whole bulletin board regarding time There was a list of days of the week; a list of time words, for example - day, week, month, year, yesterday, today, tomorrow, before, after, now;

there were also charts with questions like "What can you do in a minute?" In such a display as this one, the practical points of time are learned by the child. The work cards in the 6-year-old class dealing with time also stressed practicality and especially the relevance of time to the child's life. Questions on these work cards read "What time do you get up in the morning?" "What time do you eat dinner?" Similar work cards were also present in the 7-year-old classroom; a sample question here was "Draw what time your dad leaves for work."

The practical aspect of money was also stressed. In both classrooms there was a cash register to be used in a shop. The teacher of the 6-year-old class had set up a shop for the children to use. There were items for purchasing and play money (coins) with which to make purchases. One child was assigned to be the shopkeeper in charge of collecting money and returning proper change for the customer's purchases. In this activity children learn the value of each coin and also get practice in addition (adding prices of several items) and subtraction (changing money). Concepts of "greater than" and "less than" are also needed for distributing change. I observed one instance where Ann was the shopkeeper; she had to give David change for his purchases. I noted:

> Ann had the greatest trouble of all the children. She could not understand how to give change. I explained to her: "David bought things totaling 13 pence and he gave you 15 pence. Now did he give you more money than he needed to?" She replied "I don't know" I asked "Is 15 less than 13 or more than 13?"... I ask-Ann if she knew what "more than" or "less than" meant. She said "no".

From this example one can see that the shop can be a very difficult activity and all aspects of shopkeeping must be considered before introducing it to the children.

Fractions is an area of the math curriculum where "Children come to understand and use the language of fractions long before they see the difficult written symbols" (Mathematics in Primary Schools 1972: 21). Children become familiar with halves and quarters early because they are exposed to time (half past, quarter past, quarter to the hour) and money (half pence) in their everyday encounters. Both the 6-year-old class and the 7-year-old class were familiar with the symbols 1/2 and 1/4, because of their work with time and money in the classroom. The teacher of the 7-year-olds even had a drawer full of resources entitled "Fractions" which I noted:

> This drawer had cards asking questions like "Which is the most, 1/4 or 1/2?" "1/2 + 1/4 =___"; "How many fifths make a whole?"; "1/2 x 14 =___"; "□□□□□□□□ what is each part called?" There were also problems with addition and subtraction of fractions.

The operations of addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division are met in a variety of ways in the classroom many of which have already been mentioned (money, ordinal numbers, place value, measurement, and fractions). The philosophy of the learning of these operations is that "it is of great importance for the child to have a wide experience of the different aspects of the four operations and of the language associated with these aspects before they meet the written symbolism" (Mathematics in Primary Schools 1972: 23). In accordance with this belief much of the beginning work in these operations begins with the most concrete and works toward the abstract. The first example is with addition. I noted:

> Addition starts as "3 and 2" then it proceeds to "3 add 2" and later it develops to "3 + 2".

Other methods are also used for addition for example, "count on" and mappings are quite popular. In the 6-year-old class some of the work cards were of this form for example, "4 count on 6 → $\boxed{\phantom{0}}$," and mapping a number to a number of objects. The 7-year-old class had extended those ideas of addition to incorporate tens and units without regrouping. The 7-year-olds were all using the addition symbol and doing 2 digit addition problems in vertical form. The teacher of the 6-year-old class, on the other hand, explained to me that "the blue group (her top group) are the only children in my class who are using the (+) symbol."

The difference in each teacher's approach to addition can be attributed to two things; the first is that the 7-year-old class is a year older and therefore more advanced. The second reason could be attributed to the fact that a new math scheme, Mathematics for Schools (Fletcher 1970), was introduced to the school this year. Before the introduction of the Fletcher series much of the math program was of a more formalized nature. Consequently, the 7-year-olds may have been exposed to the mathematical symbols last year before the Fletcher series was brought into the school. Fletcher tends to spend a great deal of time on concretizing ideas and as a result, delays the introduction of mathematical symbols. He states that the aim of his book "is to inspire children by giving them a lively sense of interest and pleasure in mathematics and its creative use in everyday life" (1970: 2). He goes on to explain that "the secret is to create self-motivating learning situations which allow children every opportunity to formulate discoveries in their own language" (1970: 3).

There was one instance where I observed the teacher of the 7-year-old class making practical use out of addition, subtraction, and multiplication:

> When the teacher collected the children's money for tea snacks she formed practical mathematics problems for the children. For example, one boy gave 10 p. for a 7 p. snack. The teacher asked how much change he wanted. She then gave him 2 p. and asked how much more he wanted and he said 1 p. After she collected all of the money for tea snacks she asked "If I want 3 wafers for 7 p. each how much money should I have?" One child answered "21 p." Next she asked "if I want 4 wagon wheels for 5 p. each how much money should I have?" She called on someone who said "20 p." she then said "Tight." Then she had the class count by 5's until they reach 20 so they could see that 4 5's are 20. Next she asked what 21 p. and 20 p. was, and got an answer of 41 p. She counted the money she had collected and it was correct.

Subtraction is initially introduced as "counting back," "lose" and "take away". Work cards in the 6-year-old class represent this, for instance: "18 count back 3," "11 lose 3," and "7 take away 2." In the 7-year-old class however, the subtraction problems were using the subtraction sign in problems with 2-digit numbers in vertical form.

Concepts of multiplication and division were only apparent in the 7-year-old class. She had materials both on a concrete, practical level, and materials on a strictly mechanical level with straight problems. On the concrete level of multiplication there were problems like "2 rabbits, how many ears?" Multiplication in this form is repeated addition. Other ways to verbalize multiplication as repeated addition is "lots of," "groups of," or "sets of." This type of multiplication is easily assimilated after addition is wholly understood by the child. Later, the mechanical problems like $\begin{array}{r}23\\ \times 4\\ \hline\end{array}$ can be handled by the child when the basic multiplication facts are familiar.

Similarly division can be taught on two levels. On the most concrete level division can be described as "sharing." Sharing is an easier concept for the children because they can physically manipulate "6 marbles shared by 3 people." On the other hand "divided by" is a bit more abstract. The children are exposed to the word "sharing" early, usually with reference to sharing toys or food, so the operation of sharing is a more natural action than dividing. Work cards for division in the 7-year-old class are of the form: "6 lollipops, how many children can have 2?" There were also several mechanical problems like "$2\overline{)\,46\,}$".

On the whole the math curriculum was centered around children and their environment. Each of these concepts are hard to delineate as separate entities because in the methodology of informal education the emphasis is placed on the need, not only for the curriculum to be based on the child's environment, but also to integrate this learning as much as possible. Due to this need for integration,math concepts of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division are all entwined with money, time, fractions, and measurement. It is through this integration and practical environment that the child learns to enjoy mathematics and realize the need and importance for it in their daily lives. This type of attitude toward mathematics tends to inhibit the more ancient feelings about math that Eileen Elias (1972: 77) describes as "getting it right" or "getting it wrong" and is therefore more beneficial to the child.

## Difficulties in Educating Children in Mathematics

The actual development and abstraction of these concepts does not always occur in such a neat sequential order as is suggested by the guidelines. Several instances were observed where conceptual errors cocured in the children's work. I have identified four areas where errors or problems occured in mathematics most frequently. Each of these will be discussed and illustrated with actual data collected from my observations.

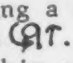
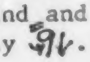
The first difficulty that arises is when the methodology of working from the concrete toward the abstract is put into practice. I have found that when the child can put a mechanical problem into a practical situation he/she can arrive at a solution, but when presented solely with the mechanical problem the child has difficulty formulating an answer.

One boy was working on the problem $\begin{array}{r} 40 \\ \underline{x3} \end{array}$. He asked "does three times naught (zero) equal three?" I said, "If you have 3 sets of nothing what do you have?" He replied "nothing!".

In this instance, once he could formulate an interpretation of the symbols he could arrive at the correct answer.

The transition between the abstract problem and the concrete explanation is a difficult one. In one instance Susan had approached me to check her work. She had done two problems: $\begin{array}{r} 1 \\ 4/\overline{\ 4} \end{array}$ and $\begin{array}{r} 1 \\ 4/\overline{\ 16} \end{array}$. Ordinarily one would think that the child would recognize the error by merely looking at the two problems and realizing that 4 times 1 cannot equal both 4 and 16. However, this child had trouble transforming the mathematical symbols into actual problems and therefore arrived at illogical answers.

A second area where I recognized a shortcoming in the math program was in the teacher's emphasis on correct formation of numbers, and correct format of math procedures. If the method of informal education is to be carried out in practice then concentration in this area would not be necessary. However, in the 7-year-old class the teacher was very concerned with the formation of numbers. On one occasion I observed Nigel writing an answer to a math problem on the blackboard:

> As he was writing the answer the teacher said, "Nigel, that's not how to make a 9!" He had started by drawing a straight line and then added the circle . The teacher then took his hand and helped him construct a nine the "correct" way .

An example of where the emphasis on correct format seems to inhibit correct mathematical thinking is illustrated in the following incident:

> Sharon was working on the problem $\begin{array}{r}39\\ \underline{-36}\end{array}$. She had written "03" for the answer. She said to me, "I don't get it." I said, "Why not?". She replied, "nine take away 6 is three, and three take away three is nought." I said, "But that doesn't look right?" She said, "No, I think it should be three nought" (these children were taught to replace a zero with a dot (·) when the zero is not a significant figure). I said, "How can it be when nine take away six is three and not zero?" I continued, "How about if you replace the nought with a dot, does that look better?" She replied, "yes".

The above two examples seem to contradict the informal philosophy of letting the child learn "in his own way" (Weber 1971: 11).

The next area of difficulty in mathematics arose as a result of computation in math from a strictly mechanical approach as observed in the particular 7-year-old class at Westfield. The teacher of the class admitted that her class was quite "formal" but that the children's math experiences at the beginning of the year were of a more practical nature. The only reason why mechanical problems were being done to such a large extent during my observation was because it was the end of the year and the children were expected to know the concepts by this time.

Confusion in interpretation of math symbols arose as a result of a mechanical approach to problem solving. Examples of such conceptual errors are as follows:

Lee was working on the problem $\begin{array}{r}14\\ \underline{\text{x}2}\end{array}$. He started by asking, "How many two's in four?" He was mixing up the concepts of multiplication and division.

Another boy was doing the problem $\begin{array}{r}76\\ \underline{+22}\end{array}$. He started the problem and said, "How many two's in six?" This child was confusing addition and division.

One child even confused addition and multiplication in the same problem. The example was $\begin{array}{r}23\\ \underline{\text{x}3}\end{array}$ and he wrote 29 as his answer. He had multiplied the units (3 x 3) and then added the tens (2 tens + 0 tens).

Mark was working on $3\overline{)\,36}$. He said, "What are three, three's... 9?". This was a confusion of multiplication and division.

Here is an example of a child's work who had not only confused addition and multiplication, but also place value.

$$\begin{array}{r}13\\ \underline{\text{x}3}\\ 306\end{array}\qquad\begin{array}{r}14\\ \underline{\text{x}2}\\ 208\end{array}\qquad\begin{array}{r}20\\ \underline{\text{x}4}\\ 600\end{array}\qquad\begin{array}{r}21\\ \underline{\text{x}2}\\ 403\end{array}\qquad\begin{array}{r}21\\ \underline{\text{x}3}\\ 503\end{array}$$

Neglect of place value is the last area of the math curriculum that seemed weak in development. For example, I asked one boy to read the number 124 and his response was "twelve hundred and four". The sequence of math concepts in the 7-year-old class were constructed in such a way as to deemphasize place value. The children are taught the four operations without regrouping and then later regrouping skills are developed. The difficulties that arise from such development are evident in the following illustration.

One boy's problem was $\begin{array}{r}13\\ \underline{+9}\end{array}$. First he added 9 + 3, and the 9 + 1. He had confused the operations of multiplication and addition. It seems that a more logical progression would be to finish one operation completely (including regrouping) so that the mechanics become internalized before the child proceeds to learning another operation.

Conceptual errors such as those cited above were frequently observed in the 7-year-old classroom. Perhaps the reason for the errors was not only due to their mechanical approach but also due to the fact that these children had not reached the stage of development where abstractions could be formulated without concrete situations. However, regardless of the reason for the errors, the fact that they occured so often indicates that although the math program seems to be very neatly organized and developed, the development of the individual child is slightly ignored. In order for informal education to be carried out in practice the child must be recognized as unique and his/her methods of discovery and experience in mathematics must also be unique. In short, the math program must allow for the child to "learn in his own way...(and)...at his own pace " (Weber 1971: 11).

## Evaluation and Summarizing Statements

In evaluating the informal education of mathematics in Great Britain I have identified certain characteristics as being strengths to the program, and other characteristics that seem to be weaknesses or shortcomings in the teaching of mathematics.

One of the most outstanding features of the current math programs being implemented in the British infant schools is the emphasis on relating math to the child's life. The practical applications of mathematics have indeed been recognized and implemented in the classroom whenever possible. The construction of a shop for practice with exchanges of money is one example where math can be related to everyday experiences of a child. Efforts have also been made to relate math to other areas of the curriculum so that math is no longer perceived as being a "separate" subject. Mathematical experiences of the shop can easily be related to other areas of education by having the children write a story about their purchases, for example.

This new direction of thought in mathematics recognizes what Weber (1971: 173-174) calls the three characterizations of a child -- as active, individual, and whole. These three characterizations of children can be accomplished with children _actively_ using concrete materials at their _individual_ paces, and with special attention being made to relating the math curriculum to other areas of the children's studies so as to recognize the _wholeness_ of a child and not segregating their social, emotional, and intellectual growth.

The emphasis for math to relate to the child's life by stressing its practical aspects is certainly an invaluable aspect of the implementation of informal education. On the other hand, the shortcoming of informal methodology with respect to its implementation in mathematics is in the area of standardization without any formalized core curriculum. Particular interest was paid to the means of standardization within the school, between schools of the same level, and in the transition stage from one level of schooling to the next.

Although standardization through a core curriculum is lacking in Great Britain I found the teaching techniques and class structure within the classrooms that I observed to be very similar. The result of these similar environments seems to serve as a means of standardization. Kitwood and Macey (1971: 11) claim that, "It is necessary to remember that each outstanding teacher develops a style that is unique and personal. One can make recommendations but there are no standard formulae for success." However, I found that each teaching style was in fact, not so unique.

Each class was arranged according to groups and within each group the child worked at his/her own pace. The child was required to do a certain amount of work and then the teacher checked this work. Concepts were often introduced to a group of children by means of a demonstration and then the child worked individually to develop and interpret the concept. Manipulatives such as counters were easily accessible and in each class the child felt free to use them and was encouraged to do so whenever necessary.

One other similarity between the classes observed was the use of the Fletcher math series. The fact that the same math scheme was used throughout limited the amount of variability between the classes. In each class the teacher supplemented Fletcher with activity cards. All three teachers agreed that Fletcher needed to be supplemented with activity cards because the child could go through pages so quickly that the concepts were not internalized.

"Informalness" was achieved in each class by having each child work individually. Each child had his/her own number workbook in which daily assignments were given on an individual basis. The teacher's assessments were also done very informally. Each teacher checked a child's work after an assignment was done. There were no tests given in any of the classes. In every class that I observed the informal atmosphere (desks arranged in groups, individual assignments and assessments) allowed the children to feel free to use manipulatives and explore on their own and in their own way. I found that as a result of this similar environment, and the Fletcher math scheme being used throughout all of the classes, that the teaching methods and math schemes were quite similar without having any standardized curriculum.

The next question to be answered was how standardization was achieved within the school. This was done in several ways. Firstly, the use of the Fletcher scheme throughout the school is most helpful in establishing a standard format. Secondly, there are usually staff meetings held regularly when the teachers can exchange thoughts and ideas. Another way of standardizing a math curriculum within the school is by means of a guideline in mathematics which is either drawn up by the school as was done in Queensway, or by a group of the North West Leeds area which was the case at Westfield. These guidelines do not indicate the specific level of development in math for any particular age but the sequence of progression is very clearly stated. However, the teachers have formed general expectations of the children to develop certain skills and concepts by a particular age due to their past experiences with children of the same age.

These guidelines used by each school came to be very important in terms of identifying how closely the math curriculums were connected between the two schools. The guidelines are very similar in content. The subjects cover: number, capacity, volume, area, measurement (length and weight), money, time, shapes, and pictorial representation. The terminology is very similar, suggested manipulatives are similar, and stages of development are quite comparable. Also, as a result of an interview with the Head of Queensway School I was informed about another means of standardizing curriculum between schools. The teaching centers are often used as a meeting place where heads and teachers can exchange ideas. Along these same lines the deputy head at Westfield referred to a meeting in Leeds where several teachers gathered together to discuss Fletcher. Meetings such as these also tend to form standards between schools. This woman from Westfield also mentioned that the school must be held accountable for their work by an advisor of maths. This advisor covers an entire district which means that he can make comparisons between different schools within the district and evaluate the extent to which they are comparable in math curriculums. Once again it is evident that there are means of maintaining a comparable math curriculum between schools without a standardized core curriculum.

The last aspect of standardization to be investigated was how the first year teachers formulate expectations of their new students' abilities who are arriving from another school, without any core curriculum to inform judgments. As a result of my interviews I found that there are records kept for each child which includes the teacher's evaluation and assessments. This information is forwarded to the next school as the child moves on in his/her education. Also, if there is communication between the heads of schools then the preceeding school knows what the children are headed for and the next school will be aware of where the child is coming from. This seems to be one area where the lack of a standardized core curriculum hurts the child. Often times the math schemes differ from one school to the next and consequently the method of instruction will differ and could cause confusion for the child. The headmistress at Westfield expresses her concern in this area when she said," It would be best if the children could continue with the same math series in the Junior School."

On the whole verbal communication seems to be the most important way to achieve standardization in Great Britain. Although there is no core curriculum, standardization is achieved through different means of communication between heads and teachers. I have found that the absence of a core curriculum has not hindered standardization in mathematics within the school itself and also between schools of the same level. The widespread use of the Fletcher scheme, the lectures held at teaching centers, and evaluations by inspectors, all tend to establish standards for teaching methods in mathematics. In fact, the presence of standardization in this non-written fashion is quite consistent with the "informalness" of British education in general. I have found that there needs to be a great deal of structure behind an informal classroom and often times the child needs to be aware of the structure in order to become motivated to do his/her work. For example, in each class observed the teacher sets goals for the child. In the 7-year-old class at Westfield the teacher devised her own way of creating motivation for the child. She distributed a "good worker badge" once a week to the child who has worked hardest and done the best work over the course of that week. Once the child is aware of the teacher's expectations he/she will proceed with his/her work. In short, what I have found is that perhaps the children are learning at their own pace, but they are not necessarily exploring their own interests solely for their own purposes. Therefore, while the schools profess to be informal, there is also evidence of quite a bit of underlying structure. I have evaluated one drawback of not having a standardized core curriculum as being in the transition stage from one school to another. However, if communication can be maintained between the schools then the transition is made much easier for the child.

The role of informal education has had a great impact on the current math programs being practiced in British infant schools. A change in curriculum and a change in methods of educating mathematics have resulted from the implementation of informal methodology. The change in teaching methods has created a free environment where the child can learn "in his own way (and) at his own pace," while the change in curriculum has emphasized that the child explore "his own interests, for his own purposes" (Weber 1971: 11). Thus, the role of informal education, as Weber describes it, is fulfilled in the subject of mathematics.

## REFERENCES

Biggs, John
1963 "The psychopathology of arithmetic" Pp. 58-71 in I.W. Land (ed.) New Approaches to Mathematics Teaching. London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd.

Blackie, John
1967 Inside the Primary School. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Brearley, Molley and Elizabeth Hitchfield
1966 A Teacher's Guide to Reading Piaget.

Butterworth, Eric and David Weir
1970 The Sociology of Modern Britain. Great Britain: Fontana/Collins.

Central Advisory Council for Education
1967 Children and Their Primary Schools. Vol. I. London: HMSO.

Currie, Malcolm and Leslie Foster
1975 Play's the Thing. London: Macdonal Educational.

Dewey, John
1906 The School and the Child.

Dienes, Zoltan P.
1973 The Six Stages in the Process of Learning Mathematics. NFER Publishing Company.

Education Development Center
1974 Progress in Primary Mathematics. Vol. I and II. Birmingham.

Elias, Eileen
1972 Learning and Playing. Great Britain: Pitman.

Fletcher, Harold
1970 Mathematics for Schools. London: Addison-Wesley.

Kitwood, Tom and Marie Macey
1977 Mind That Child! London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative.

Isaac, Nathan
1963 "Mathematics: The problem subject." Pp. 20-30 in I.W. Land (ed.) New Approaches to Mathematics Teaching. London: Macmillian.

Mellor, Edna
—— Education through Experience in the Infant School. Great Britain: Alden and Mowbray.

Montessori, Maria
——— The Secret of Childhood. Longmans Green.

Nuffield Foundation
1971 Maths with Everything. London: Newgate Press.

Schools Council Curriculum
1972 Bulletin No. 1. London: HMSO.

Taylor, Joy
1976 The Foundation of Maths in the Infant School. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Trends in Education
1968 "Plowden-one year later" (January): 16-20.

Weber, Lillian
1971 The English Infant School and Informal Education: New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Whitbread, Nanette
1972 The Evolution of the Nursery-Infant School. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Williams, J.D.
1970 Teaching Technique in Primary Maths. National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales.

# Some Aspects of Deaf Education in Britain*

by

Barbara J. Wright

## Definition and Measurement of Hearing Impairment

Hearing impairment is a low incidence handicap which is treated both in normal and special schools in Britain. Deafness is a term used to "indicate a degree of hearing difficulty without defining the degree of hearing loss or the extent of the resulting disability" (Taylor 1975: 7). Deafness can either be congential or acquired. If it is acquired, the person is "adventitiously" deaf.

Conductive deafness is the type of deafness in which the hearing organ is normal. There is an interference of the conduction of sound through the middle ear due to disease or maldevelopment. Perceptive deafness is the type of deafness in which the inner ear or auditory nerve is affected. A major distinction between the two types is that there is a possibility of medical treatment for curing or alleviating conditions of conductive deafness. Perceptive deafness, on the other hand, is not amenable to medical treatment as it represents permanent damage to the nerve processes in the ear. Another difference is that defective speech development and difficulties in speech discrimination are greater with perceptive deafness. (See for more detail: Johnson 1962; Taylor 1975).

Measurement of the degree of hearing loss takes two forms: audiometric tests and speech tests. A pure tone audiometer is used for audiometric tests. "This is an instrument which is designed to produce tones where the frequency of the pitch can be varied against loudness" (Taylor 1975: 13). The threshold of hearing for each pitch is plotted on a graph for both ears called an audiogram. Loudness is measured in units called decibels (dB). On an audiogram, the scale is from 0 decibels to 120 decibels. The threshold for a normal hearing person is 0 dB. That means that a normally hearing person can just hear sounds at the 0 dB level. "Quiet, conversational speech is at a level of 60-70 decibels; shouting is round about 90 decibels and a level of 120 decibels is quite unpleasant to most of us" (Dale 1967: 21-22).

---

*I would like to thank Dr. D.M.C. Dale for his assistance in this research project.

Speech tests are used diagnostically to help determine the best hearing aid and receiver for a hearing impaired individual. Those individuals with conductive deafness will be able to hear with more accurate discrimination of sounds than those with perceptive deafness. "The former usually hear perfectly when the speech is made sufficiently loud, but the nerve deafness group rarely, if ever, achieve 100 percent comprehension by listening alone" (Dale 1967. 23). The test for preschool children in Britain is called Kendal Toy. There are 10 phonetically balanced words which encompass all of the frequencies and all the sounds in British English. All of the words in these lists are represented by small objects. The tester would ask the child first to name the objects to make sure he is familiar with them. For older children and adults, they use the Manchester Junior (MJ) list which has 25 more sophisticated words than the Kendal Toy (KT) list. These lists were developed by Dr. Watson of Manchester University.

Hearing aids are used both with partially hearing people and deaf people. The hearing aid is an amplifying instrument. It is composed of three major parts: a microphone, an amplifier, and a receiver. It amplifies all sounds equally, therefore, the best type of room for a hearing aid user is one in which the background noises are at a minimum. A room with carpets and curtains help absorb the extraneous noises.

There are two types of aids that can be used -- a body aid or a post aural aid. The body aid for young children is worn in a harness. The harness should be made of strong material and should be adjustable so that it fits over the child's clothes. It should have a pocket in which to hold the hearing aid with a button flap to keep it from falling out. There should be a hole in front so that the microphone is out in the open. Older children can use a harness or keep their aid in a sewn pocket in their shirt or blouse. Post aural aids are worn behind the ear. The post aural aid is less powerful than the body aid.

Hearing aids do not restore hearing but amplify sound so that the deaf person can use their residual hearing (whatever hearing is left), to its maximum usage.

## Educational Goals for the Deaf

There has been much research on deafness already but there is still more information to be gained. In America, in 1969, the Subcommittee on Human Communication and Its Disorders under the auspices of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare prepared and published a report on "Human Communication and Its Disorders-An Overview". Under the research on hearing, they defined 26 research areas that need to be followed up. Many of these areas are ones that are currently issues in Britain as well. One area, the need for resolution of educational goals for the deaf include issues that have been in conflict in deaf education all over the world. Two examples are the conflict between oralism and manualism and between segregated versus integrated education. The first issue is a long standing conflict between two differing philosophies. In the sixteenth century, a Spaniard, Pedro Ponce de Leon believed the deaf were educable and he is considered their first teacher (O'Neill and Oyer 1961: 10). Charles M de L'Epee began a school for the aurally handicapped in Paris in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

> L'Epee realized the importance of teaching lipreading and speech to these children in order to restore them to society, but their great number forced him to teach the manual method...After l'Epee's death, (Abbe) Sicard took over the school and continued with the manual method.
>
> As the manual method became firmly entrenched in France, the oral method was promoted in Germany by Samuel Heinicke...(who) continually pointed out the virtues of the oral method over the manual approach, and believed that clear thought was possible for the deaf, only if they learned to speak. (O'Neill and Oyer 1961: 12; they also have more detail on the history of the education of the deaf.)

Oralism is a technique in which the deaf person is taught speech and lipreading. The philosophy behind oralism is that we live in a hearing and speaking world and the deaf person should learn how to live within that world. They are suffering from a handicap which is isolating them from the norm so learning speech will help them approach the norm.

Manualists have more recently adopted a system of total communication which includes all forms of communication (sign, speech, lipreading, fingerspelling). They argue that it is necessary to use all forms of communication with the deaf since there is already a deficit in normal communication. The deaf will encounter increasing frustration as they are unable to communicate with the hearing population and each other; this will isolate them further.

Oralists argue that the deaf learn sign language as a nonstructured language (actually it has its own structure that is different from English), and that it creates more difficulties in acquisition of speech. Deaf people will talk the way they sign. An example is "Me home Friday." Total communication proponents argue that there is more structure today with sign language and that it approximates grammatical English (including suffixes, prefixes, tenses).

Manualists argue that deaf people will use sign language to communicate with other deaf children in non-structured settings such as play time or meal time. If they learn established sign language, they will be able to communicate more universally with deaf people other than just their small group of friends and acquaintences. Oralists agree that children use sign amongst themselves but counter that argument with another. Sign language is often regional. Therefore, the sign for one thing may mean something totally different in another region.

Another area of disagreement between the two camps is that oralists feel a child will not use speech if they can communicate with their hands. Manualists counter that argument with one in which they claim that the deaf actually use speech better (more spontaneously) and have better language than those who just learn oral communication.

The total communication theory encompasses any and all forms of communication. Sign language is one method just as speech or lip-reading are two more.

Segregated versus integrated education is another area of conflict for those in deaf education. The question boils down to this: Will the hearing impaired child learn best in an environment with normally hearing children or with other hearing impaired children? At this point in Britain, it is felt that integrating the child into a normal setting is the best policy in most cases (See Dale, 1967, and Dale, 1976).

## Research Procedures

I am specifically looking at assessment of hearing impaired children in the British educational system. How the children get placed into various settings and what happens while they are there, are of interest also. How the treatment philosophy relates to the placement is an important related aspect of the study -- do they use an oralist or manual approach and why.

Four different schools were used as a data base. All four schools had a hearing impaired population. (1) Guiseley Infant School is a normal British infant school (ages 5-7). They have a hearing impaired boy integrated into a normal classroom. Edward* has a 35dB loss and wears no aid. (2) A secondary and a junior school in the Haringey district in London have some hearing impaired children integrated into their classrooms. Each hearing impaired child is seen by a support teacher for half the day and also by a teacher of the deaf for up to 45 minutes daily. I observed Irene in the secondary school as she saw her support teacher one morning. She has a 65dB loss and wears a post aural aid. Beth, a pupil in the junior school, saw her support teacher as I observed for an hour before lunch. Beth has an 85dB loss. (3) Odsal House School for the Deaf is a day school in Bradford. They currently have 167 pupils. (4) Harewood Bridge House School is a residential school for deaf boys who are multihandicapped. All are Educationally Sub Normal (ESN, a term used to describe people with low IQ's in Britain). Many of the boys have a third or fourth handicap as well (spastiscity, maladjustment, epilepsy).

---

*All the childrens' names are pseudonyms.

Interviews were conducted with several people. Mr. Dalziel, Headmaster and Miss Judy Newton, school audiologist are from Odsal House. Mr. Seymour is the Bradford area audiologist, hired by the Educational Authority. Mr. Wells is a psychologist in the Leeds Educational Authority (Leeds is a neighboring authority, and Guiseley School is in the Leeds authority). Mr. Squire from Harewood Bridge House was interviewed as well. Mr. Haythorntwaite, from the deaf center in Bradford, also was interviewed. He is the social worker for the deaf hired by the Bradford Social Services Authority. Interview schedules were established to determine how children are assessed and placed and to see what happens in the placement.

Assessment and Placement of Hearing Impaired Children

To start the assessment process for hearing impaired children, they should be screened by the time they are a year old. Mr. Seymour said, "The babies should be screened about the age of nine months by the health visitors who go to their homes." The desire to get the children at such a young age is emphasized in the BBC publication, I See What You Mean: Living With Deafness:

> It is universally accepted that the sooner special steps are taken to help the young deaf child in his family the more advantageous this becomes psychologically, socially, and educationally. Therefore, an organisation has to be established to enable the young deaf child to be discovered preferably within his first year of life.
> (Reed, 1975: 47)

The book also emphasizes the need to have trained workers to look for deafness in babies. Mr. Seymour implied that health visitors are frequently unable to spot the hearing impaired infant. He reported, "I often get referrals by a 'casual finding.'" A casual finding is one by which a layperson has recommended that the parents of a deaf child see Mr. Seymour instead of getting the referral from a professional such as the GP (doctor) or health visitor. Although he would like to find the hearing impaired children at nine months, most of Mr. Seymours' referrals from health visitors occur generally when the child is between 2 and 15 years old. Because the children are referred later, they do not receive the assistance they could have used to start developing language and other communication skills.

Since he is the area audiologist, Mr. Seymour decides if a child has a hearing impairment. He said,

> If I decide that there's a hearing impairment, then I have to start thinking out the program before school. The admission age is two years... I arrange with a teacher of the deaf to visit their home and they will give preschool help to the child. I bother basically with counselling. Often at this age, the parent presents the greater problem. They baby is usually quite placid. The mothers tend to be ainsy. The area that we cover is so large that many of the parents are absolutely isolated.

Mr. Seymour emphasized the need to work with the parents so they feel less isolated and helpless. Often the parents are living with their hearing impaired child and do not know whom to turn to or what to do. They often wonder if it is their fault that their child is hearing impaired. Mr. Seymour takes on the supportive role toward the parents. He told me, "Our job is to do social work as well as preschool work."

Mr. Seymour runs a preschool-parent group, formed to give the mothers a chance to meet and get together with other mothers facing a similar problem. It helps the parents feel less isolated. Dale (1967: 27-28) feels strongly that the first steps towards corrective treatment for the child is through the parents' acceptance of the handicap.

> It is generally agreed that the parents' acceptance of the fact that their child has a hearing loss is the first step toward correct treatment.
>
> Fear often makes it very hard for parents to speak freely to anyone...Parents' discussion of common problems in a group brings about a very considerable release of emotional tension.

For that reason, Mr. Seymour brings together the mothers of these preschoolers so that they don't feel so apprehensive about their child's handicap. The preschool-parent group has a beneficial effect for the children as well as for the mothers. Since the children are together weekly in a playgroup for about a year before they start school the following year, there is less fear at leaving their mothers in September. They already know the other children and have a sense of routine. Also, they have met Miss Hocking from the nursery department at Odsal House School.

There are several different alternatives where hearing impaired children can be placed for their schooling. This depends on the language base of the children, as well as their hearing level and usage of residual hearing. Another factor may be whether the child is multi-handicapped. If so, placement will depend on which handicap presents the greater problem. If deafness is the greater handicap, they will probably be placed in a deaf school. If another handicap is more limiting, then the child may be placed elsewhere (for example, an ESN school). If the child is placed elsewhere, a perapetetic teacher for the deaf (visiting teacher of the deaf) will work with the staff of that school as well as with the child offering support to the staff and the child. If a hearing impaired child is placed in a normal school and still requires additional assistance, a perapetetic teacher would be assigned to that child and the staff at the school to give any needed support. Dale (1967: 91-92) wrote about the role of the perapetetic teacher in a normal school:

> (The perapetetic teacher) is required for children with hearing losses who attend ordinary schools and are sufficiently handicapped in their learning to require a limited amount of additional individual assistance...
>
> (The perapetetic teacher visits)...the hearing impaired child who comes from his classroom... Hearing aids are checked and an inquiry is made about specific difficulties in the previous weeks' work. Work in speech and reading is given.

Hearing impaired children may be in a normal classroom without getting additional assistance from a perapetetic teacher. They may not need the help or their impairment may have not been diagnosed. Sometimes slow learners have a hearing impairment which has gone undiagnosed through infant school (ages 5-7) and possibly through junior school as well (ages 8-11).

Another type of placement for the deaf child would be in a unit at a normal school. The children integrate into the mainstream with subjects they are able to keep up and get extra assistance for the more difficult subjects. In Bradford, the deaf teacher is a member of the staff of the school. Both deaf and normally hearing children are grouped according to their ability level, and their age level. When the deaf teacher's class goes to a specialist teacher, she will go into a class with a hearing impaired child and work with the child giving support in that way.

Hearing tests can be given to a child as young as seven to nine months old. Of course, the instruments used in assessment for the infant of such a young age are very crude and inaccurate, but they at least start the process. The screening would try to cover as wide a range of frequencies as possible. To be effective, these sounds must be meaningful to the children or else they will not react. For example, a low frequency sound which would be familiar to a child of that age might be stirring the bottom of a cup. For a higher frequency, the tester might crumple a tissue. A cup and a tissue are often used for and/or around the infant; therefore the child should react in some way to those sounds.

Testing of a hearing impaired child gets more sophisticated and more accurate the older a child gets. At two years old, a child can be tested with a free field audiometer. This instrument is one the tester holds in his hand. He is able to control the frequency and the volume level. With a very young child, there are always other problems which may interfere with the accuracy level. The child may be hungry, tired, fearful of the surroundings (if it is a new situation). For those reasons, Mr. Seymour tries to test the children of a young age in their own homes.

At about four years old, the child is able to wear earphones so a clinical audiometer can be used. The problems inherent in testing children between four and seven is that they may not understand what the tester wants. It is necessary to spend time prior to the hearing test to set up and establish what the tester wants. It is necessary to condition the child to make sure the child understands and the test is valid. This can be done by using a game format with the child so that it is properly set up. The conditioning can actually set the child up to give the wrong response. The tester can make the child overcautious by asking, "Are you sure you heard that?" several times. The child may be able to see how the tester is working the test and may respond by saying that he heard something every time the tester looks up.

A speech test assesses the level of auditory discrimination an individual has. This will differ among hearing impaired individuals even if they have a similar loss. For children up to about age 7, the Kendal Toy word list and matching objects is used. The problem with that test is that there are only ten items on it so one mistake is a 10 percent error. Often, more than one of the lists are used which reduces the error percentage. For older children and adults, the MJ list is used. There are 25 words on this list. This gives the tester a more accurate picture since it can encompass a wider variety of speech sounds and the error level is lowered. Both tests are supposed to have all the sounds in British English.

The speech test and pure tone test together help asses an individual's hearing loss and discrimination level. These are very important factors used in deciding what type of placement would be appropriate for a child. The schools all differ in their treatment of the hearing impaired children.

Relationship of Treatment Philosophy to Placement

At Guiseley Infant School, I was able to observe Edward, a hearing impaired child, in several different settings. I saw him: in the classroom when the class was together as a group, working in a small group of six people, on an outing with the class to a dental exhibition, and while he was having his hearing tested. I also had the opportunity to speak with his mother to see what she knew about his hearing impairment. Her information was very scanty. She told me that he had his hearing tested twice and that it had worsened the second time. She did not know how severely impaired he was. She told me, "He can't hear whispers. The doctor talked to him whispering and put his hand over his mouth so Edward couldn't see his lips. He didn't hear the doctor." From that information and my own observation, Edward does seem to pick up on visual cues to aid his hearing.

Edward is in the slow group in his class. His efforts at writing seemed slow and labored in comparison to the rest of his group. When doing a group lesson in measurement, Edward was the slowest in writing what they were measuring although he had received assistance about a dozen times. He asked about 4 or 5 times how to spell wrist. He had trouble with the 's'.

At the schools' assembly, Edward did not pay attention to the front of the room until there were some pictures displayed. While a teacher was talking to the group, Edward talked with another child until told to be quiet by his teacher. When the pictures were displayed in the front of the room, Edward looked up at the front of the room intently.

The class went to a dental exhibition in the Town Hall. There was one guide for the 30 of us. Edward was in the back of the group for part of the time. The acoustic level of the room was poor -- a tiled floor, high ceilings, other people talking and getting tours. Those in the back of the room strained to hear the guide. Edward tried to listen and then, distracted, he looked around at other things posted near him. There was a movie run upstairs and Edward immediately moved his head up to locate the sound. Other children were watching the guide, and did not turn. As we moved within the exhibition to different parts, I tried to move Edward up nearer to the front. Then, he did pay attention and was less distracted to other noises.

Edward had his hearing tested by a nurse in the clinic next door to the school. During the test, he sat in his chair without fidgeting. He has been tested before and knew what to do when the nurse gave him the instructions. The audiometer used was a portable one which was old. She said it was not a very accurate machine but it would give her some indication of an impairment. Edward had a 35dB loss in his left ear and a 45dB loss in his right ear. Edward does seem to have an impairment and it seems to affect his work and concentration. He has been tested by professionals in a clinic in Leeds who told his mother to bring him back in six months. He did see a reading remediation teacher at school for 20 minutes daily with five other children. Yet, there seems to be no other provision made for this boy to help him with his handicap. When he is able to make a contribution, he will. This was shown when involved in a writing assignment. Another child asked me to spell some words which he did not know. Edward knew their spelling and told the other child. Without some kind of direct intervention, I think Edward will continue to suffer educationally.

In the Haringey authority in London, there is a project set up to integrate severely hearing impaired children into a normal classroom. There are currently 12 partially hearing and deaf children who have been integrated into these normal schools. It is part of an "Individual Integration Experiment" started in May 1973. At that time, six children were taken from the Risley Avenue Junior School Unit for Hearing Impaired Children and placed in their local ordinary schools. This project was run by Dr. D.M.C. Dale, senior lecturer at the University of London Institute of Education. Support for the project came from Haringey Education Committee and Mr. John Stanway, headmaster at Blanche Nevil School for Deaf Children (the local deaf school). Financial support came from individuals and two trusts.

The children who are integrated into the ordinary school have their own classroom teacher, a support teacher whom they see for half the day and a teacher of the deaf who sees each child for up to 45 minutes each day. She also supervises the support teachers and offers guidance to the classroom teachers when necessary.

Five of the original six children went to their local secondary school in the 1974-1975 school year. I observed one of the original six (Irene) in her meeting with her support teacher. Her loss is 65 dB. In 1975 in September, five more children joined the research group. Two of the five came from the Blanche Nevile School for Deaf Children. The other three had attended the Risley Avenue unit. I observed Beth, a child with an 85 dB loss. Her parents had migrated from Pakistan. The other four children had parents who also migrated from other countries.

First, I observed Irene who brought work in English and math. The support teacher and Irene worked together in a small room by themselves (with me observing). As the support teacher talked to Irene, she stared intently at her teacher's face. Irene is from a Greek family. She wants to learn Greek since she cannot verbally communicate with her grandmother.

I went to the junior school next and observed Beth. First I went with her support teacher into her classroom where Beth was working on a math problem. She sat next to a hearing child who would get her attention by physical means (touch her and gesture; point to something she wanted). This hearing child did not once try to verbally communicate with Beth in the 15-20 minutes I was in the room. Miss White, the support teacher, said that they are trying to get the other children to talk with Beth as they would with any other child.

In Deaf Children At Home and at School, Dale wrote about the integration of severely hearing impaired children in a normal school and classroom in New Zealand. These classrooms had 6-8 deaf children in each class with an "associate teacher" for them. It was emphasized that:

> Undoubtably the most significant thing is that many profoundly deaf children can be successfully educated in such units in ordinary schools.
> A second very significant and encouraging factor appears to be that when deaf children spend a very considerable proportion of time in the main classroom, many of them do seem to form warm relationships with the normally hearing group. (Dale 1967: 122 emphasis in original).

Miss White told me that Beth prefers to remain in the classroom and not to be separated from her classmates. Miss White tries to accommodate her wish and work with Beth in the classroom whenever possible.

The project is gradually growing. They started with six pupils and grew to ten in the next year. Last year they had twelve children and Dr. Dale has recommended that the number be increased to sixteen.

"The two teachers of the deaf and the five support teachers have... remained impressed by the possibilities of this form of educating children with hearing deficiencies" (Dale 1976: 2-3). Head teacher and classroom teachers have continued to be supportive of the project. The children all wish to remain in their local schools. They "all appear...to enjoy their schooling and have been able to make friendships with normally hearing boys and girls" (Dale 1976: 3). Parents too, have been delighted with the fact that their children are able to attend local schools. Yet, there is minimal participation from the parents in their children's education. This is of concern to the administrators of the project who wish to see more parental involvement and aim to work on that aspect more in the future.

Dr. Dale states confidently from his experience at Haringey and observations in other schools with partially hearing children integrated with normal children in England, Sweden, and New Zealand, that "this individual local school based approach represents a significant improvement on the traditional methods of managing most of these children" (Dale 1976: 8).

Odsal House School for the Deaf follows an oralist approach. They accept children between the ages of 2 and 16. There are four departments in the school. The nursery department has children between the ages of 2 and 7. The children are assessed while in the nursery. Many of the children who come to the nursery enter with little or no language. From the nursery, the children go into the junior department. The junior department has children from 7 to 11. It is here that they are divided up into partially hearing and deaf. That depends on their level of language at the time of placement into this department. Those partially hearing children who have achieved highly (by the school's standards) will go into the partially hearing unit at the normal school at age 9. Those children who are in the deaf group in the junior department will get a very structured language instruction which will teach them the basic language structures of English. Once they have mastered the structures, they will be able to expand their vocabulary by building on them.

At 12 years old, the partially hearing and the deaf groups at Odsal House will merge into the senior department. They will begin preparation for the Certificate of Secondary Education -- the CSE. (The CSE is an examination taken by school leavers at age 16 in

British schools. Most people who take this examination do not go onto further college or university education). At age 14, the seniors get a more vocational course work to supplement the academic one. It is here that they start assessing their own capabilities and strengths and defining their weaknesses. It is here that they start cultivating skills to prepare them to live and work in a hearing world.

Odsal House School has another department called the special unit. It is for multi-handicapped children (deaf/blind, deaf/epileptic, deaf/immigrant). This unit has about 1-to-2 staff/child ratio. They have children ranging in age from 2-16. Immigrant children who have a hearing handicap and speak no English will be placed in the special unit until they have mastered enough English to be mainstreamed back into the school.

Since there is an oral philosophy at the school, no sign language is allowed in classrooms for teaching. Mr. Dalziel, the headmaster, realizes that some children will fail by this method. He will try to get that child into another placement if he cannot succeed with an oral system. He mentioned to me that he has a child in the nursery department whom they are looking to place elsewhere. But, he stressed to me, "I feel it is important to give the child a chance. I think it is necessary to wait for three years under this system."

He also expressed some concern that a total communciation system might be too confusing for the child since it uses so many different modalities (auditory, visual, tactile). He thinks that more might fail with a total communication system than with the oral one. I noticed several of the profoundly deaf seniors had unintelligible speech. This will be a problem for them when they go out into the hearing world and have no alternative method of communication.

Harewood Bridge School is a residential school for ESN (Educationally Sub Normal) hearing impaired boys. The hearing impairment ranges from a mild loss to profound deafness. Many of the boys have a third or fourth handicap as well. These handicaps range from spasticity (cerebral palsy) to epilepsy to maladjustment. A year ago, a test for maladjustment was administered to these boys. Seventy-five percent tested in the maladjusted range.

The property on which the school is located is 10 acres. There are only 24 boys and 4 teachers. The teachers are all male. Everyone wore jackets and ties. It was explained to me that because of their mental handicap, these boys are unable to structure their own lives. Therefore, they need the structure which is imposed by the school.

The basic philosophy for teaching these hearing handicapped boys is an oral approach. Yet, for those boys who cannot or will not speak, manualism is used. The youngest class has six boys ranging between 9 and 11. They all were non verbal. Mr. Squire, their teacher, was trying to teach them sign language.

I observed one child, Ian, in this class. He was walking around the back of the room when I entered. He moved toward the front and sat spinning a toy for several minutes. Mr. Squire put Ian on his lap with much struggle but when Ian was on the lap, he sat there relaxed although he did not try to maintain eye contact or make any acknowledgement that he was sitting on someone's lap. Mr. Squire said that Ian was new to the school (about 3 months). They did not yet know the level of his hearing impairment. He wore hearing aids in both ears. Mr. Squire told me that he thought Ian had almost no hearing. My observation of Ian led me to believe that he was a disturbed child by his actions (wandering around the back of the room, spinning objects, no contact with other people).

Another class I went to in the afternoon had a language lesson. They were all hooked up to the group hearing aid. Two of the boys were profoundly deaf. Yet their speech differed greatly. George was unintelligible. Thomas had speech which I could understand if I listened very carefully. When George started to use sign language to another boy, Mr. Jones, the teacher, told him to stop. He told me that he does not allow signing in class since the school is supposed to be oral. Yet, he did sympathize with George's need to communicate saying that George should not be in this class of boys.

The basic aim of the school is to develop social skills that will enable the child to have the ability to operate in a hearing world. To achieve this goal, they have four guidelines that they follow.

The first guideline is to run a very formal school with set procedures and routines. The boys must go to bed at a specific time, eat at certain times, wash their hands at certain times. They also must wear ties. If these daily functions are routinized and internalized, then the boys will use them as a way to run their lives. I was told that since they had low intellect, these boys made low demands on themselves. It was inferred that they would do nothing unless it became a structured part of their life.

The second guideline is to take the boys' fixed vocabulary of nouns and build on it. Continuous tense (ing) is given to the boys to use as a structure. It is applicable for many verbs in the past, present and future tenses.

The third guideline they follow is to work with the boys on their hearing handicap so they are able to cope with it. They must wear their hearing aid all the time except when sleeping and must learn how to take care of their aid.

The fourth guideline is to teach them how to wash and groom. These skills are necessary for the boys to learn before they go out into the hearing world.

The headmaster does not really participate in the daily activities with the boys. This seems to be resented by the staff.

When I asked about gesturing, I was told that it is individually assessed per child. Sign language is supposedly used, especially if the child has not learned spoken language by age 12. Yet, George was 13 and was scolded for using it in one of the classrooms. This seems to be a contradiction.

## Further Issues in Assessment and Placement

After the deaf person leaves school, there are very few places they can meet with other deaf people. One place is the local deaf club. It offers social work services to the deaf population as well as many recreational activities. About a quarter of the deaf population in Bradford use the center's facilities frequently (once or more a week). About half use the facilities spasmodically (once a month or so) and about a quarter do not use it at all. For some people, it becomes the only place of social activities; for others it is peripheral.

There are a variety of places a deaf child can be placed educationally. Sometimes, a child can pass through the system until school age or later (for example Edward at Guiseley). Problems in academic work may be the way in which children are discovered to have a hearing impairment, and get assessed. By that time they probably have learned ways to cope with their handicap (for example, picking up on visual cues). Yet, they may have suffered needlessly. They should have been diagnosed at an earlier age. It is preferable to find out about a child's hearing impairment as early as 9 months of age. Health visitors should notice something amiss when they visit an infant's home. Knowing what to look for should be part of their training. Parents who notice something wrong with their child should be taken seriously and their child should be checked thoroughly. These suggestions are given in the literature as well.

Parents must learn to accept their child's handicap in order for treatment of the handicap. Some parents refuse to allow their child to be placed in a special school or unit which places undue pressure on the child. Although there is an emphasis on integration in ordinary schools, it is recognised that some children will not learn speech. Others may learn speech but may not be able to integrate due to other handicaps.

Degree of hearing loss, ability to discriminate speech sounds, other handicaps, and parental acceptance of the handicap are all factors which must be considered before a child is placed in a school.

Within a placement, it is necessary to have consistency among the staff who work with a particular child. For example, at Harewood Bridge House School, there was a contradiction involved in the usage of sign language with George, a profoundly deaf child. The philosophy of the school was different according to different staff members. Mr. Jones felt it was an oral school therefore in the classroom, speech was allowed and signing was not. Mr. Squire, on the other hand, felt that the school's policy was one in which sign language was and should be used for those boys who did not have speech and could not develop it. He condoned Odsal House School since he felt they did not offer any alternative method of communication for their pupils who could not speak.

There is no one way in which a hearing impaired child should be educated. Different children have different needs, yet too often one philosophy is strictly followed without concern for the child's own needs. The end goal of education for those children is the same. The hope is that they will leave school and be able to function within the normal hearing society. Too often, the theory becomes the area of concern at the child's expense. We need to develop and adopt a child oriented approach.

## References

Dale, D.M.C.
1967 Deaf Children at Home and at School. London: University of London Press.

1973 Individual Integration Experiment: Progress Report. London: University of London Institute of Education.

1976 Untitled Report on Individual Integration Experiment. London: University of London Institute of Education.

Johnson, J.C.
1962 Educating Hearing-Impaired Children in Ordinary Schools. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

O'Neill, John J. and Herbert J. Oyer
1961 Visual Communication for the Hard of Hearing. London: Prentice-Hall International.

Reed, Michael
1975 "Education from the Cradle to . . .? I See What You Mean: Living With Deafness." London: The British Broadcasting Corporation.

Subcommittee on Human Communication and Its Disorders
1969 Human Communication and Its Disorders-An Overview. Bethesda, Maryland: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Taylor, Professor Ian G.
1975 "What do We Mean Deaf? I See What You Mean: Living With Deafness." London: The British Broadcasting Corporation.

## III. Social Development

Education is a social process, which implies that the context in which it occurs is very important. As stated in Secion II, children must both develop as individuals and acquire basic skills. In order to evaluate how adequately any system of education is meeting these goals, one must have a conception of society -- historically, currently, and how it might be in the future. Education for all children in British schools has been available for just over one hundred years. When attending school was made universal and compulsory, it was within the context of a society stratified by social class. A system of payment by results, in effect until the turn of the century, made a proportion of teachers' salaries dependent upon the results of an annual examination of pupils held by central government inspectors. The system of standard examinations, intended to promote efficiency and economy in educating working class children, resulted in sixty or more children in a fixed, tiered gallery infant classroom simultaneously performing series of exercises. The major concern was that of producing mass literacy and there was considerable pressure to accomplish this quickly since children could legally begin employment at the age of 10. Examinations and tests judged performance which in turn reflected stultifying school and home environments. Instead of social class determining social class, the model of socializing children to adulthood become one of testing determining social class. They happened to coincide! As the national statutory school leaving age was raised and the system of payment by results ended, the use made by schools of their freedom has been varied and has proceeded unevenly throughout this century. Schools are places of relationships between individuals, in addition to being places where skills are acquired. Schools are still stratified by social class, as well as by sex, race, and the teacher-child authority structure. The papers in this section focus upon these relationships.

Jane Warner demonstrates that the general nature of social participation of children as young as four years of age is affected by their classroom environments and that these classroom environments are in turn associated with social class. Within the classroom environment, Debra Dodson shows that cultural expectations based on sex roles create differences as well. Expectations are transmitted by the materials present in the classroom, such as the portrayal of males and females in textbooks, and by the type of behavior rewarded by teachers and peers. Sheila Moy examines the influence of teachers and peers further, this time with respect to maladjusted or withdrawn children. Maladjustment is a multicausal phenomenon with the reactions of significant others influenced by the source of the problem, poverty or lack of experience in personal relationships for example. Discipline and reinforcement are important means through which teachers define their expectations. Randi Robinson compares how these mechanisms of social control are employed in informal education as part of the socialization process. Children not only internalize adult expectations and values, but create and transmit their own culture as well. The flexibility of movement characteristic of informal education facilitates verbal interaction between children. Janice Sonkin explores peer group influence in the transmission of children's culture through the oral tradition of folklore. Significant others -- teachers, peers, and family members -- create the school environment as it is experienced by an individual child. Ce Cole examines ways in which relationships are altered in the special case of mixed race adoptions.

# An Ecological Study of Social Participation and Prosocial Interaction

by

Jane C. Warner

It is the task of society to make the lives of its members meaningful. This is accomplished for little children by bringing them into meaningful communication with adults and one another, and, at the same time, enabling them to establish a self separate from the world around them (Herron and Sutton-Smith 1971: 9). This paper is concerned with some of the qualities and factors affecting the young child's social development and suggests possible methods of facilitating the bringing together of little children to provide them with the opportunity to learn about themselves and those with whom they come in contact.

The first subject to be examined is the general nature of social participation engaged in by the four-year-old child. This investigation will be further developed by using an ecological approach to study such behavior. An ecological study is one in which some measurement is made of a relationship between the type of activity and the characteristics of the subjects' behavior in that activity (Herron and Sutton-Smith 1971: 77). For the purposes of this paper, this means that the manner in which children socially interact with each other will be examined with respect to the activity in which they are participating. This ecological approach will also be used to identify the frequency and type of prosocial interaction occurring in an activity area. The information presented is both theoretical and practical, and implications as to the importance of this research are discussed at the conclusion of the paper.

The children involved in this investigation were four-year-old males and females enrolled in two nursery classes and five day nurseries in the Bradford metropolitan area in West Yorkshire, England. For the purpose of comparison, this population was divided into three sub-groups: nursery class, urban day nursery, and village day nursery. These distinctions were based on differences in location, population, and financing and staffing of the centers.

The nursery classes were affiliated with an infant school in a middle class suburb of Bradford. The majority of the children came from two-parent families with no obvious social problems. The facility was financed as a part of the British educational system and the staff consisted of a certified teacher and a nursery nurse.[1]

The urban day nurseries were located in Bradford and under the jurisdiction of the Social Services Agency. The children attended the day nurseries approximately nine hours a day as compared to the nursery class children who only attended two hours per day. Placement in the day nursery is based on the following priorities listed from highest to lowest: 1) Children on the abused register, 2) socially deprived children, 3) children with educationally subnormal parents, 4) children of school-aged parents, 5) children with handicapping conditions, and 6) children of single parents. These priorities are set by the Social Service Agency. The majority of the children in the urban nurseries were from the top four priority categories. The day nurseries were financed through Social Services and payment for care was made by parents, Social Security, or government subsidies through the day nurseries. The staff of the day nurseries consisted primarily of nursery nurses and nursery assistants.[2]

---

[1] A nursery nurse has a two-year college degree which focuses on the health and care needs of young children. It is not an educational degree.

The village day nurseries were located outside of Bradford but were under the same metropolitan jurisdiction as the Bradford day nurseries. Therefore, financing, staffing and priority for placement were the same. The major distinction between the two day nursery groups was that there were very few children in the village day nurseries from the top priority categories. Most of the children were from the lowest three categories.

General field observations in the nursery class extended from June 24, 1977 until July 26, 1977. During that time, prosocial group interaction was noted and basic categories for a behavioral checklist were identified and defined. The observations made with this checklist, in addition to general field observations, were recorded in the nursery class over a two-day period at the end of July and in the five day nurseries over a three-day period at the beginning of August.

Due to the nature of the ecological approach, it was necessary to quantify observation and identify the context within which behavior took place. A behavioral checklist enabling a systematic time-sampling technique was designed to fulfill this need. The checklist was developed through combining categories of social participation outlined by Parten (1932: 248-252) and Shure (1963: 981-983).

Observation of activity areas were made for series of five minutes and divided into one-minute segments. These one-minute increments were

---

2. A nursery assistant is an untrained staff member.

devised so as many behaviors as possible could be recorded. Each child occupying the area being watched was coded every minute of the five minute period. However, a word of precaution should be made with respect to the method of data collection. Behavior observations were not drawn equally from each activity area because not all the nurseries had the same activities and equipment available, and/or children were not participating in each area. It should also be kept in mind that the number of observations made were somewhat limited. Other possible data problems are discussed within the body of the paper when specific comparisons are made.

## Social Participation

The first area to be examined is general social participation in four year-old children. One of the most well-known studies done on this subject was conducted by Mildred Parten in 1932 (243-249). Her work on this topic was extremely important because her procedure for studying social participation and her findings are still quoted today (Rubin, Maioni, and Hornung 1976: 414-419 ; Shure 1963: 979-992). She introduced a system to categorize the social behavior of a child based on the play conduct that was displayed. The classifications have been developed to define changes in the amount of social participation from least to most social behavior. The following definitions are taken from the work of Parten (1932: 248-252) and Shure (1963: 981-983), with the examples provided for each category taken from observations made in the nursery class at the suburban infant school in Bradford.

SOLITARY: The child plays alone and independently, with toys that are different than those used by children within speaking distance and makes no effort to get close to or to speak with other children.

Example: Marcus is sitting on the floor looking at a picture book. Two feet from him is Nicola who is laying the wooden train tracks along the floor. Neither child makes any attempt to interact.

ONLOOKER: The child spends most of his or her time watching the others play. The child stands or sits within speaking distance of the group so that he or she can hear and see all that is taking place.

Example: Three children are sitting at the crafts table coloring pictures. Graham runs from the block area and stops about a foot from the table. He peers over the shoulder of Amanda to see her work but says nothing to her. He then looks at the whole group, eyeing their pictures.

PARALLEL: The children play independently, but the activities chosen naturally bring them in contact among other children. The child is involved with activities like those the other children are using but the child plays the way that he or she sees fit and does not try to influence the activities of children nearby. By looking at another child or activity, evidence is given of awareness of the presence of another. Verbalization is minimal.

Example: Several children are pasting pictures to sheets of paper. Each child has their own pot of glue and magazine to cut from. No conversation is taking place and the children leave the table when their project is done. They occasionally look up from their work but do not comment on what another child is doing.

ASSOCIATIVE: The child plays with other children, although there is no division of labor and no necessary organization of the activity. All the members in the group engage in similar if not identical activity. Vocalization occurs, and through conversation with the other children one can tell that interest is focused on associations versus activity.

Example: Four children are playing at the sand table. They talk about the upcoming holiday while playing with the sand. two of the children are filling the same bucket while the other two are building up mounds of sand to become castles.

COOPERATIVE: The child plays in a group that is organized for the purpose of attaining some goal, of dramatizing situations or for playing formal games. There is a marked sense of belonging to the group. The efforts of one child are usually supplemented by those of another.

Example: It is clean up time and the blocks are strewn on the floor, remnants of a fire engine the children had built that morning. There are four children picking up the blocks and placing them in a stack by the wall. The last blocks are about four feet long and very thin. The four children pick up one of the boards and place it on their heads. They laugh as they carry the board together to the stack. After putting the block in its place, they stand up and smile at each other. They then repeat the task as a group again, laughing and commenting on the fun they are having.

Parten maintained that there is a developmental trend within the aforementioned categories of participation: the younger the child, the more parallel and solitary activity engaged in, and the older the child, the more associative and cooperative the interactions. This statement is in agreement with Piaget's generally accepted view that solitary play, followed by parallel play, associative play and finally cooperative play is the sequence in which social play emerges (Millar 1968: 178). Parten's theory states that there is a relationship between the age of children and the degree to which they participate in social groups (1932: 264). This conclusion is supported by her findings which report solitary and parallel play demonstrated most often by two-and-a-half-year-olds and that four-year-olds display much less parallel play and much more associative and cooperative play.

TABLE 1

FREQUENCY OF CATEGORIES OF BEHAVIOR

| Social Participation | Parten (1932) | Warner (1977) |
|---|---|---|
| Solitary........ | 10% | 1% |
| Onlooker........ | 7 | 16 |
| Parallel........ | 30 | 46 |
| Associative..... | 34 | 26 |
| Cooperative..... | 19 | 11 |
| Total...... | 100% | 100% |
| N = Number of observations. | N = 597 | N = 398 |

Table 1 compares findings from Parten's 1932 study on four year olds with those from this study. It is important to note that my findings differ somewhat from Parten's. I observed a very small amount of solitary behavior which may be due to a concertration of observation of group activity. Therefore, solitary behavior was not recorded unless it occured within the group situation. I also observed a majority of behavior in the parallel category, which is a lower level category of behavior than Parten reported should be occurring in this age group. Possible explanations for these discrepancies will be dealt with later in the paper.

The second comparison to be made includes data collected by Shure in 1963 using the same categories of social participation introduced by Parten (Shure 1963: 981-983). Although Shure used all five categories of social participation during the collection of her information, when reporting her findings she condensed the classifications into the following three categories:

Single Child: Parten's solitary category.

Awareness: A combination of Parten's onlooker and parallel categories.

Social Interaction: A combination of Parten's associative and cooperative categories.

Due to this change that Shure made, Parten's and my own categories were altered to fit the broader classes of behavior that Shure used. Table 2 illustrates the comparison of data from Parten (1932: 256) and Shure (1963: 986) with my own.

TABLE 2

FREQUENCY OF CATEGORIES OF BEHAVIOR

| Social Participation | Parten (1932) | Shure (1963) | Warner (1977) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Single Child: (Solitary) | 10% | 26% | 1% |
| Awareness: (Onlooker/ Parallel) | 37 | 30 | 62 |
| Social Interaction: (Associative/ Cooperative) | 53 | 44 | 37 |
| Total: | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| N = Number of observations | N = 597 | N = 1875 | N = 398 |

Whereas Table 1 revealed that the majority of the children's behavior falls in the parallel and associative categories in both Parten's and my own studies, the distribution differs within these two categories. Parten's subjects exhibited much more developmentally mature interaction that did the children I observed. This is also true when my findings are compared with respect to Shure's in Table 2. Table 2 indicates that Parten's and Shure's results, although numerically different, both show that four-year-olds engage most in social interaction (associative and cooperative) and least in single child ( solitary) behavior. In contrast, my results indicate a majority of behavior in the awareness category (onlooker and parallel).

In addition to data collection error, there were a number of other factors that may have influenced the differences apparent in the three studies. First, the cultural and population parameters I used were not the same as those in Parten's and Shure's studies. The population my sample was drawn from encompasses lower- and middle-class children from both nursery classes and day nurseries in Great Britain. The children Parten and Shure observed were from middle class, American backgrounds and attended nursery schools. A second explanation, and one to be developed, is that there were differences in the classroom environments and particularly in the activities in which the children were able to engage.

## Effect of Activity on Social Participation

In a study involving 9 1/2 to 11-year-old boys (Gump and Sutton-Smith 1955: 96), it was hypothesized that activities have a reality- and a behavior-influencing power, and that an activity, once entered, will exclude some potential behaviors, necessitate other behaviors, and, finally, encourage or discourage others. In order to examine the applicability of this hypothesis to the effect that activity has on preschool social interaction, the areas observed were based on those observed in previous studies (Gump and Sutton-Smith 1955: 96-106, Shure 1963: 979-992, and Yarrow and Waxler 1976: 118-125). The following areas of activity were designated:

ART: This area also includes manipulatives and crafts. These usually take place at a table and include such things as puzzles, felt boards, pasting and glueing, coloring, painting, cutting and clay. These activities are focused on using fine motor skills.

GAMES: This area includes objects such as small blocks, toy cars, miniature animals, legos and railroad sets. Activity in this area that has been observed is building of towers with small blocks and playing farm with miniature animals.

BLOCKS AND DOLLS: This includes the wendy corner which is that area that contains dress-up clothes, household articles, dolls, telephones, play food and doll furniture. The block building area provides a variety of sizes and shapes of large (greater than one foot by one foot) blocks. Activities observed in this area have been building, playing in child-sized houses, and role-playing family. The block and doll areas have been combined because they are both conducive to sociodramatic play.

TABLE #3

FREQUENCY OF CATEGORIES OF BEHAVIOR BY AREA

| Social Participation | ART | | GAMES | | BLOCKS & DOLLS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Shure | Warner | Shure | Warner | Shure | Warner |
| Single Child: | 22% | 2% | 36% | 2% | 26% | 0% |
| Awareness: | 49 | 86 | 35 | 57 | 20 | 23 |
| Social Interaction: | 30 | 12 | 27 | 41 | 54 | 77 |
| Total: | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| Number of Observations: | 487 | 139 | 316 | 203 | 1072 | 56 |

The results of the examination of social participation and activity area are presented in Table 3 along with the findings that Shure reported on the same topic (1963: 979-992). The areas she distinguished were art, games, books, blocks and dolls. Her findings suggest that the doll corner elicited the greatest proportion of complex social interaction, the block and games area the next most complex, and the arts and books produced more awareness behavior such as parallel play. In order to make Shure's findings and my own more comparable, Shure's book category was eliminated because I made no observations in that area, Shure's doll and block categories were combined to form one category equivalent to the area that I observed, and I reduced the five categories of social participation that I used to correspond with the three classifications utilized by Shure.

The results from observations of prosocial behavior are reported in Table 4. Numbers represent the ranking of behaviors from most frequently to least frequently observed. Lower rankings indicate a higher amount of prosocial interaction. No comparative data is included because research on the specific area of prosocial interaction as a function of activity was not available.

An examination of Table 4 shows that the greatest number of prosocial behaviors (verbal and nonverbal) were observed in the blocks and dolls area. This supports the hypothesis that the area in which the highest level of social participation is displayed (see Table 3) is the same as the area in which the most prosocial interaction is taking place. Table 4 also indicates that the games area produced the second greatest number of prosocial behaviors and the art area produced the least. These findings, compared with my data on social participation (see Table 3), also support the possibility of a relationship between the amount of prosocial behavior and the level of participation. According to my observations, the game area produced the second highest level of social participation (awareness) whereas the art area produced the lowest. It is interesting to note, however, that Shure's results in Table three do not report this same relationship (1963: 986). Although she did report the highest level of social participation in the blocks and dolls area, the games area produced a lower level of social participation than did the arts areas. Therefore, her findings with regard to these areas of arts and games, would not support the rankings reported in Table 4. However, a word of precaution should be made about the predictions to be drawn from Table 4 in the art and games areas. The amounts of prosocial behavior observed in the art and games areas, as indicated by the rankings in Table 4, were almost the same, and therefore conclusions should be made with care.

## Relationship Between Setting and Social Participation

Described in the beginning of the paper were the three environments in which observation for this study took place: nursery class, urban day nursery, and village day nursery. When I was recording the observations, I noticed a trend that the children in the nursery class displayed the most social interaction as compared with the children in the day nurseries. To test this observation, Table 5 was developed to demonstrate the amount and level of social participation engaged in by the children in each of the three settings.[3]

TABLE 5

FREQUENCY OF CATEGORIES OF BEHAVIOR

| Social Participation: | Nursery Class | Urban Day Nursery | Village Day Nursery |
|---|---|---|---|
| Solitary..... | 1% | 1% | 3% |
| Onlooker..... | 16 | 19 | 11 |
| Parallel..... | 43 | 57 | 66 |
| Associative.. | 12 | 23 | 20 |
| Cooperative.. | 28 | — | — |
| Total: | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| N = Number of observations.. | 158 | 86 | 66 |

---

[3] For the purpose of this comparison, the data from one of the urban day nurseries was excluded. This was done because it did not compare with the other urban nurseries in terms of facilities. The building was modern, purpose-built and class sizes were under ten. Both the day nurseries and the nursery maintain class sizes of between 20 and 25 children.

Table 5 reveals that all of the cooperative social participation observed was recorded in the nursery class. The differences between the urban and village day nurseries are not as dramatic. In order to identify the possible reasons for the discrepancy between the types of behavior observed in the same aged children, the raw data collected was reexamined. It came to my attention that no observations in the blocks and dolls area were made in any of the day nurseries. One possible explanation for this was to be found in the classroom environments and the activities that were provided for the children.

In the nursery class, a wendy corner and large building blocks area were always available for the children. A day of observation did not occur that the children did not play in these areas. The village day nurseries, although the statistics in Table 5 do not indicate it, had children that were very outgoing and interactive with each other as compared to the other day nurseries. Provisions in the village day nurseries were made for a wendy corner but use of the behavioral checklist was not possible in the area because subjects were quite interested in the researcher and this prevented accurate, systematic observation. However, during informal observation, I observed participation in the wendy corner that was both associative and cooperative in nature.

The urban nurseries, however, did not provide a wendy corner nor a block building area. Activities available to the children were table games, art projects, and puzzles. According to the data presented in Table 3, such activities did not facilitate associative and cooperative interaction. This may be a reason that more mature forms of social participation are not as frequently observed in the urban day nursery.

A study comparing the social participation behavior of preschool middle- and lower-class children found that lower-class children exhibited much less mature interaction than middle-class children (Rubin, Maioni, and Hornung 1976: 414-419). The fact that the majority of the nursery class children were from middle-class homes and the day nursery children from lower-class homes could have been a major factor in the differences reported in Table 5. It remains, however, that there was little or no opportunity for block and doll area play in the urban day nursery. This means that those children are not being given the optimum opportunities for social development in their preschool setting. According to previous research, opportunities for dramatic play activities are particularly conducive to the child's acquisition of positive social skills (Charlesworth and Hartup 1967: 1001). Most of the children in these day nurseries are there because their homes do not provide adequate stimulation for them. Certainly, then, it is tragic that the very centers that are supposed to be supplementing the children's development are, in actuality, not providing as an enriching environment as is possible.

The financial status of the day nurseries does not provide them with the luxury of expensive equipment, but provisions for environmental social stimulation does not necessarily require large expenditures. The following suggestions are offered:

Education of the staff: The nursery nurses and assistants are not qualified as teachers and their training is focused on the health and care needs of the children. A portion of their course should deal with methods of stimulating the development of the child by structuring the environment, providing a variety of activities, and meaningfully interacting with the children to encourage verbalization, creative thought, and social-emotional development.

Provision of facilities: In addition to knowing what equipment to put out in the classroom in order to provide a balance of art and games, it is necessary to present activities that will spark socio-dramatic play. The creation of a wendy corner or child-sized store can be accomplished quite inexpensively by collecting old garments, saving food containers and making furniture from old boxes.

The Plowdon Report, a British Government publication calls for the provision of environmental conditions that will support a child's unsegmentalized development (Weber 1971: 172). This indicates an awareness that situational factors affect the child's growth and that, due to this awareness, there should be no excuse for not providing as optimal an experience as possible in the day nurseries. In theory, all children receiving preschool experience should be stimulated in their social, cognitive, and emotional development. From my observations, however, this is not what occurs in practice. Those children from middle-class, problem-free backgrounds are the children that demonstrate the most advanced social skills and also receive the best structured environments to facilitate that growth. The children who need the additional social stimulation the most, those from deprived backgrounds, are too often maintained in nursery care that does little more than provide supervision and protection from their parents.

From an examination of the data that has been presented, the implication is that the activity that the child is engaged in is one of the factors that affect social participation and prosocial interaction. If this statement is true, it has a great deal of application to the classroom or any environment in which young children are gathered. Of particular importance are the applications made to the supplementation of interactional experience for those children from deprived backgrounds.

The intense egocentricity of a child, intellectual and emotional, is corrected through companionship with children and interaction with their different pruposes and points of view (Weber 1971: 176). According to Susan Issacs, it is not the mere presence of other children but active participation with them that educates them (Issacs 1933: 267). Therefore, facilitating social interaction is quite beneficial to a child's whole development. The environment and structuring of activities to supplement the child's growth is a valuable contribution and addition to the preschool program.

## References

Azrin, N.H.
1956 "The reinforcement of cooperation between children." Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology 52: 100-102.

Charlesworth, Rosalind and Willard Hartup
1967 "Positive social reinforcement in the nursery school peer group." Child Development 38: 993-1002.

Garvey, Catherin and Robert Hogan
1973 "Social speech and social interaction: egocentrism revisited." Child Development 44: 562-568.

Gesell, Arnold
1950 The First Five Years of Life. London: Methuen and Company.

Gottman, John, Jonni Gonso, and Brian Rusmussen
1975 "Social interaction, social competence, and friendship in children." Child Development 46: 709-719.

Gump, Paul and Brian Sutton-Smith
1955 "Activity-setting and social interaction: a field study." The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 25.

Hartup, Willard
1970 "Peer interaction and social organization." in P. Mussen (ed.), Carmichael's Manual of Child Psychology, Vol. II. New York: John Wiley.

Herron, R.E. and Brian Sutton-Smith
1971 Child's Play. New York: John Wiley.

Isaacs, Susan
1933 Social Development in Young Children. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Millar, Susanna
1968 The Psychology of Play. Great Britain: Penguin Books.

Mussen, Paul
1970 Carmichael's Manual of Child Psychology. New York: John Wiley.

Parten, Mildred
1932 "Social participation among pre-school children." Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology 27: 243-269.

Rubin, Kenneth, Terrency Maioni and Margaret Hornung
1976 "Free play behaviors in middle class and lower class preschoolers: Parten and Piaget revisited." Child Development 47: 414-419.

Sanders, Daren and Lawrence Harper
1976 "Free-play fantasy behavior in preschool children: relations among gender, age, season, and location." Child Development 47: 1182-1185.

Shapira, Ariella and Millard Madsen
1969 "Cooperative and competitive behavior of kibbutz and urban children in Israel." Child Development 40: 610-617.

Sherman, Lawrence
1975 "An ecological study of glee in small groups of preschool children." Child Development 46.

Shure, Myrna Beth
1963 "Psychological ecology of a nursery school." Child Development 34: 979-992.

Smith, Peter and Maureen Green
1975 "Aggressive behavior in English nurseries and play groups: sex differences and response of adults." Child Development 46: 211-214.

Staub, Ervin and Linda Sherk
1970 "Need for approval, children's sharing behavior, and reciprocity in sharing." Child Development 41: 243-252.

Tizard, Barbara
1974 Early Childhood Education. Great Britain: NFER Publishing.

Thompson, George (ed.)
1971 Social Development and Personality. New York: John Wiley.

Weber, Lillian
1971 The English Infant School and Informal Education. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Whitbread, Nanette
1972 The Evolution of the Nursery-Infant School. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Yarrow, Marina and Carolyn Waxler
1976 "Dimensions and correlates of prosocial behavior in young children." Child Development 47: 118-125.

# Sex-Role Socialization in a British Infant School

by

Debra Dodson

Socialization is the process by which humans are molded to conform to a society's standards of behavior. This process is possible because people take into account the reactions others may have to their own actions (Henslin 1972). According to George Herbert Mead:

> The individual experiences himself as such, not directly, but only indirectly from the particular standpoints of other individual members of the same group, or from the generalized standpoint of the social group as a whole to which he belongs (Merton 1957: 238).

Thus, it can be seen that a group to which a person belongs is an important frame of reference for self-evaluation. It is through such a group (i.e., a society) that children acquire the values and beliefs of their culture. One idea that children acquire is that persons in their own society have roles to play within that society. One set of distinctions a child learns are the roles that his/her sex and the opposite sex have been assigned to play within that culture.

In British society, females are expected to display gentleness, piety, compliance, reticence, beauty, physical weakness, and domesticity. Males are to have the traits of assertiveness, strength, worldliness, management ability, and competence (Banton 1965). This is not true of all societies. Margaret Mead's studies of three New Guinea tribes indicate that sex-appropriate behavior varies among cultures. In the Arapesh society, both males' and females' behaviors would be considered "feminine" by British society's standards. Both males and females in the Mundugumor culture were "masculine". Males in the Tchambuli tribe were "feminine" and females were "masculine" (Lefrancois 1973). Thus, it can be seen that cross-cultural differences in sex-role assignments to suggest that masculine and feminine behavior are based upon cultural definitions of sex-appropriate behavior and are not biologically determined (Lefrancois 1973, Weitzman 1974). Differences between the behaviors exhibited by males and females do not develop in an arbitrary way (Sharpe 1976). Differences in socialization of males and females have been investigated by many social scientists (Maccoby and Jacklin 1975, Lobban 1976, Sharpe 1976, Lynn 1969, Comer 1974, and Weitzman 1974). Most agree that males and females develop sex-typed behavior as a result of socialization, and that this process begins in infancy and continues throughout a person's lifetime. Of the previously mentioned social scientists, Lobban (1976) has done extensive studies of sex-role socialization in British infant schools. She has concluded that, in Britain, schools do aid in the process of socializing children into the sex-roles that their society deems appropriate. This paper shall concentrate upon the same topic as the Lobban studies.

One duty of the school and teacher is to communicate to the children the ideals of the culture (Cronbach 1963). If the culture values sex-typed behavior, as does Great Britain, it can be inferred that one of the teacher's jobs is to emphasize the differences in behavior that she expects from males and females in the classroom. Therefore, even if children have not been taught by their parents to exhibit sex-appropriate behavior, they will soon learn to do so as it usually gains the teacher's approval (Johnson and Medinnus 1969). Thus, it can be seen that schools and teachers may have a great effect upon a child's socialization into the sex role that society deems appropriate for him/her. For this reason, the study of sex-role socialization in British infant schools is important. This paper shall answer the following questions:

1. How does the teacher, the school and the peer group communicate to a child that there is a difference between males and females and that males and females are expected to behave differently?
2. How are masculine and feminine roles presented in the children's text books?
3. What are the career aspirations of children in one British Infant school?
4. How do children perceive males' and females' roles (i.e., occupations) in society?
5. How do these children perceive children of their own sex and of the opposite sex?

There are terms used within this paper which must be operationalized. Sexism and sexist shall have the following meanings:

1. a belief that human sexes have distinctive characteristics that determine their respective cultures.
2. a policy of enforcing such asserted beliefs (Hole and Levin 1971).

Stereotype shall be defined as:

1. ...a standardized mental picture that is held in common by members of a group and that represents an oversimplified opinion...(or)... affective attitude.
2. One who conforms to this mental picture (Webster 1973: 1141).

A model shall be considered as a person whose behavior a child may observe and try to emulate.

## Research Methods

Data for this research paper was collected through: library research; approximately fifty hours of participant observation in Homewood First School (as I shall call it), over a four-week period, in a classroom of six-and seven-year-olds; and written exercises that these children did for me.

The library research that I did could be divided into two sections: 1) investigation of existing literature related to my topic, and 2) an analysis of the content of the reading schemes used by this school. Every attempt was made to remain objective when analysing the children's literature. All books from the Ladybird Key Words Reading Scheme, Through the Rainbow series, and Breakthrough to Literacy series that were available from a teaching resource center in the West Yorkshire area (where the school is located) were used in this analysis. Ten books from the Through the Rainbow series, thirteen from the Breakthrough to Literacy series, and nine from the Ladybird Key Word Reading Scheme were examined. According to several head teachers in the West Yorkshire area these reading books are used by some other schools. The inferences concerning the content of these reading textbooks could probably be applied to other series of readers, as most school books tend to portray males and females conforming to their traditional sex roles (Lobban 1974).

During the observation periods, I attempted to note the events exactly as I saw them, to remain objective and to record my observations accurately in the journal which I kept. Homewood First School was located in a small town in West Yorkshire, England. The school had been opened during the past five years. There were a headmistress, deputy head master (both taught classes), and three other teachers. Approximately 135 children attended the school. In the class of six- and seven-year-olds in which I was participant observer, there were thirteen boys and thirteen girls. Most of these children were from the intermediate and skilled non-manual classes.

The intermediate social class includes such occupations as pilot or engineer, nurse, policeman, fire-brigade officer, and school teacher. The skilled non-manual social class includes clerical worker, sales representative, secretary, shop assistant, and waiter (Registrar General 1970). The children lived in a residential area which surrounded the school. Approximately seventy-five percent of their mothers were employed outside of the home. The teacher of this class, Miss Smith, as she shall be called in this paper, was about twenty-five years old. She was ill during more than half of the observational period, and Miss Thomas, as I call her, substituted for her for two weeks. Because Miss Thomas had done her practice teaching at Homewood, it will be assumed that the school endorsed her methods of teaching and classroom control. As she had spent a considerable amount of time in the school, the children already knew her. I was placed in this school after I requested to observe six- and seven-year-olds of the professional or intermediate social classes. This request was made due to my lack of observational experience in other types of situations. The professional social class includes accountant, architect, chemist, clergyman, lawyer, surveyor, and university teacher (Registrar General 1970).

In preparation for this study, I had previously had five months of observational experience in an American classroom of children with social class backgrounds and ages similar to these children at Homewood. The data collected through observation of the Homewood teachers' interactions with one another and with the pupils are examples of the ways they communicate to children that the sexes are different. It should not be assumed that all of these methods are used by every school.

When I was allowed to ask the children questions, I posed questions to them as a group and had the children write their answers on paper without discussing possible replies with their peers. I would explain each question several times to the class as a whole and would circulate around the classroom to make sure that the children were following my directions. It is possible that they gave answers which they thought would please me. However, I believe asking them to write their answers was one of the best methods possible. On one occasion, I held a group discussion with the children and found that the data I collected was of little use. Some children raised their hands each time I read a part of a multiple choice question and others never raised their hands at all. There was also a considerable amount of peer pressure among the children-especially among the girls - to choose certain answers. When I discussed this with Miss Smith, she said that the boys were much more direct in their answers. Although the girls were discrete, they followed the leaders of their group more than the boys followed theirs. That was probably the reason all the girls had answered the questions the same way. Thus, asking children to record their answers on paper was probably the best method I could have used.

In tables IV-VII, the answers that the children gave concerning the importance of occupations and characteristics were averaged by assigning point values to each child's answers. There were variations among children of the same sex. In spite of my lack of statistical training, I felt that the method I used to tabulate the scores produced accurate results. Also, during these exercises I found that I had a small communication problem. "Smart" in England means neat, whereas smart in the United States means intelligent. Therefore, the result was that I was unable to measure a variable that I had hoped to measure.

The children were very willing to do these written exercises and the teachers were very co-operative in allowing me to do this. I might add, however, that the school and teachers were unaware of my research topic.

Only one British infant school has been investigated during this period of observation. Although it might be possible to generalize the findings to other situations if social class is held constant, this possibility has not been tested. However, one should not generalize these findings to situations outside of these social classes, as socialization into sex-roles may vary between social groups.

## Reinforcement of Sex Roles in the Classroom

Models (such as parents, peers, and teachers) may have a great effect upon children's socialization into sex roles. As previously stated, the groups to which an individual belongs are a significant frame of reference (Merton 1957). Thus, it seems logical that after children learn which sex group they are a member of, they take an active part in seeking to discover what boys and girls do (Sharpe 1976). Through models' actions children not only learn a wide range of behaviors, but they also learn which of these actions are appropriate for their own sex (Maccoby and Jacklin 1975). They are likely to imitate same-sex models after they realize their sex and after they are able to determine sex of others (Lobban 1975, Maccoby and Jacklin 1975, Morrison and McIntyre 1971, Sharpe 1976). Research findings suggest that observation of opposite-sex models has little effect upon children's acquisition of behavior patterns, but that observation of same-sex models encourages children to adopt the behavior displayed by these models. This process may begin as early as age three (Maccoby and Jacklin 1975). If these models display sex-typed behaviors, the children who observe them will probably adopt sex-typed behavior also. Children may display gender appropriate behaviors for several reasons. One reason is that the display of sex-appropriate behavior is rewarded by others more often than sex-inappropriate behavior (Morrison and McIntyre 1971). Therefore, children look to models to learn how to act in a socially desirable way. By acting as models, by rewarding behavior deemed sex-appropriate, and by punishing behavior deemed sex-inappropriate, parents, teachers and others may be influential in socializing children into sex roles. Thus, it can be seen that sex-typed models can have a great effect upon children's socialization into sex roles.

When children enter school, they probably have preconceived notions of sex-appropriate behavior. School experiences only serve to confirm and reinforce these ideas (Comer 1974, Weitzman 1974). Children are likely to learn more from what they see and experience than from what they are told (Lobban 1975). If this is true, the children at Homewood probably learned from adult models that males are leaders and females follow their lead. The headmistress of this school seldom took charge when the children were assembled together. The deputy head, a male, often issued instructions to the female staff and the children during field trips and at school play practices. The headmistress usually stood by and allowed him to organize the activities. From these experiences, children may have come to believe that males should take charge of group activities and tell others what to do. The headmistress also had established a dress code for Homewood which required female students and teachers to wear dresses and skirts to school. Not only did this force the women and girls to conform to their stereotypical attire, but it also limited freedom of movement, thereby encouraging "lady-like" behavior (i.e., not playing rough games). Even if a teacher at this school tried to convey to the children that the sexes were not different, her stereotypical clothing and behavior (i.e., submitting to an assertive male) would contradict her statements. Her words would probably be in vain, for the children would learn more from what they observed than from what she claimed (Lobban 1975).

Through day-to-day classroom procedures, teachers also may communicate to children that there is a difference between boys and girls. For example, most teachers assign to boys tasks such as moving heavy objects (Anonymous 1977). I observed this on one occasion at Homewood. Miss Smith asked for "two strong, sensible boys" to carry a box of comic books to another teacher's room. If this occurs frequently, girls may begin to believe they should not display physical strength. If girls desire the teacher's approval, they may label physical strength as sex-inappropriate for themselves, conform to her expectations and not exhibit physical strength. In addition, it may be assumed by the children that boys are supposed to be strong and girls are supposed to be weak.

Other jobs at this school tended to be assigned on the basis of gender. For example, there was a girls' milk monitor and a boys' milk monitor assigned each week by the teacher. The labeling of these jobs according to gender tended to emphasize that there was a difference between the sexes. Another task that appeared to be assigned based upon sex was the job of serving other children at dinner. The "dinner lady" appointed these servers, and, during the times I observed, she always assigned more girls than boys to this task. The percentage of female servers usually varied between sixty and seventy-five per cent. This majority of girls serving dinner tended to support the stereotype of the "domestic female."

Dividing the class into single-sex groups also emphasizes that the sexes are different (Anonymous 1977). At Homewood, boys and girls usually lined up in separate lines when the class was leaving the room. This arrangement was used by most of the teachers in the school. Miss Smith did not have to remind the children to line up in this fashion, for they had been conditioned to do so. Also, when the teacher arranged the children into small groups, she tended to segregate the sexes. When the class took a field trip to the zoo, the teacher assigned children to sit in certain places on the bus. Only four of the sixty children were seated next to a member of the opposite sex. After arriving at the zoo, Miss Smith paired the children to prevent the line from being too long. The teacher had paired boys with boys and girls with girls. She placed the pairs of girls at the front of the line and the boys at the back of the line. This segregation seemed to be another method of saying, "You are different from one another so you should not be together."

Teachers may not only divide children into same-gender groups, but also, sometimes when they reprimand children, they may suggest that the undesirable behavior is characteristic of the opposite sex. I observed Miss Thomas give this type of admonishment on two occasions and, both times, it was directed at boys:

1. Paul! Don't fuss. Little boys don't fuss. Little girls usually fuss.
2. (Commenting to a boy who did not want to wear a "tatty old hat" in a school play) Mark, you're acting like a little girl!

From these reprimands, the children may have learned that girls fuss and are conscious of their appearance and that boys should not display such "feminine" traits. The girls may have begun to believe that such behavior would be condoned if they displayed it or that it would not be frowned upon as much as it was when the boys displayed it. This reinforces the idea that the sexes should behave differently. Also, it may teach the children that it is wrong to behave as a member of the opposite sex would behave. Because boys are more concerned than girls about sex-role identification, negative reinforcement such as these reprimands may lead to dislike of the activity which led to punishment and boys may develop hostility toward all "girl-like" activities (Lynn 1969). This type of punishment would tend to make children more conscious that others expect boys and girls to behave differently and that failure to act in a sex-appropriate way will bring disapproval from others.

Not only may sex-inappropriate behavior bring disapproval from teachers, but it also may bring disapproval from peers. In order to feel that they are accepted by the group, children must conform to peer pressure and adapt to the group's ideas. Deviation from sex-appropriate behavior quickly brings ridicule from their peers -- especially for boys. For example, in the classroom under observation, it was rumored that Mark was supposed to dress as a female in the school pageant. Although he was not wearing his costume during the first play practice that I observed, he made me promise not to laugh at him. When I returned to the school on another occasion, the children were preparing for a dress rehersal. All of the children changed into their costumes in the classroom - except Mark. He dressed in the toilet area. When the children discovered him dressing there, they all ran to watch. Although his costume did not look feminine, he continued to dress in the toilet area. His behavior could have been due to modesty, but it seemed unlikely, as he had never done this before. Boys and girls occasionally made him the object of comments such as, "Whose dress is this? Oh, that's Mark's!" He vehemently denied these accusations, but he refused to tell anyone what his part in the play actually was. According to the teacher, he was a jester, which was a male role in the Middle Ages. However, it is possible that he was to be a jester imitating a woman. This disapproval of his peers of any type of sex-inappropriate behavior may have caused him to dislike all "feminine" activities thereby making him more aware that he should display "masculine" behavior (Lynn 1969).

## Sex Role Stereotyping in Text Books

Thus, it has been shown that not only do the teachers and peers at Homewood emphasize that males and females are different, but they also encourage children to display sex-appropriate behaviors. Teachers and peers are not the only means through which children learn from school experiences that boys and girls are different and should behave differently. School text books, which are selected by the head teacher, may also teach children this.

Reading schemes are presumed to be very important because they are usually a child's first introduction to the written word. These books are presented within an atmosphere of authority and the majority of children read them (Lobban 1974). Children, thus, learn the norms of society through the books they read. However, an investigation of the reading schemes used by Homewood - Break Through to Literacy, Ladybird Key Words Reading Scheme, and Through the Rainbow - shows that these books depict a world probably more sexist than the "real" world.

To determine the number of males and females presented pictorally and in the text of the readers, ideas from Czaplinski (1976) were used. All humans and animals shown in illustrations were counted. If there was any question concerning the gender of a being, he/she was not counted. In all of the reading schemes, more males than females were presented in pictures, as can be seen in Table I.

TABLE I

Pictorial Representations of Males and Females
in Three Reading Series

| Series | Males | Females | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Through the Rainbow | 55%<br>(347) | 45%<br>(285) | 100%<br>(632) |
| Breakthrough | 52%<br>(326) | 48%<br>(279) | 100%<br>(605) |
| Ladybird | 54%<br>(240) | 46%<br>(202) | 100%<br>(443) |

The differences in the percentages of males and females pictured are not large, however, there was a consistency in all three schemes to show more men and boys than women and girls. Breakthrough to Literacy, which had the smallest percentage difference between males and females presented pictorially, achieved this through the following poem and illustrations to correspond with it:

> One busy housewife sweeping up the floor,
> Two busy housewives polishing the door,
> Three busy housewives washing all the socks,
> Four busy housewives winding up the clocks,
> Five busy housewives cleaning with the broom,
> Six busy housewives tidying the room,
> Seven busy housewives washing in the sink,
> Eight busy housewives giving the cat a drink,
> Nine busy housewives cooking dinner, too,
> Ten busy housewives with nothing left to do.
> (David Mackay, Brian Thompson, and Pamela
> Schaub 1970: 15-16).

If the pictures of these fifty-five busy housewives were subtracted from the number of females pictured, the percentage or males and females would be sixty percent and forty percent respectively.

Not only were more males presented pictorially in the books, but of the eight Breakthrough to Literacy books examined which had narrators whose gender could be determined, only two had female narrators. Also, there were usually more boys than girls who were central characters in the stories as Table II shows.

Table II

Proportion of Males and Females as Central Characters
in Three Reading Series

| Series | Males | Females | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Through the Rainbow | 80%<br>(8) | 20%<br>(2) | 100%<br>(10) |
| Breakthrough | 64%<br>(20) | 36%<br>(11) | 100%<br>(31) |
| Ladybird | 50%<br>(1) | 50%<br>(1) | 100%<br>(2) |

If girls feel they are less important than boys, the over abundance of males in pictures and in the text of these books could only serve to reinforce this idea (Weitzman 1974).

The children in these stories fit into sex-typed roles of behavior. Only the Through the Rainbow series showed any boys helping with domestic chores. All three showed girls doing household work. Girls did not help their fathers with tasks such as heavy gardening. These books seemed to perpetuate the idea of "man's work" and "woman's work."

Also, boys and girls did not play with the same toys. Boys never played with dolls or jump ropes. Girls did not play with motor vehicles (i.e., cars, cranes, or trains). Both boys and girls played with balls and building blocks. Girls were not shown out-running or out-climbing boys. If there was any competition between the sexes in the physical fitness area, the males always won. The girls in these schemes were not dressed for rough play. Dresses and skirts tend to limit freedom of movement, and of the 1680 times females were pictured in the books examined, only three times was a girl shown wearing trousers. This sex-typing of toys and dress and the inferior athletic ability of the girls combined to place the girls in these books into their stereotypical feminine role.

The children were not the only ones whose behavior was sex-typed. All the schemes showed mums in a domestic role. Only once in all of the books examined did a dad do any type of housework. Although several head teachers in the West Yorkshire area (including the headmistress of Homewood) claim that the lifestyle of the characters in these series of books are very similar to the lifestyles of the school children who read them, this could be seriously questioned. Not only do the mums in these books confine themselves to domestic activity, but the only outside occupations that other females in them hold are teacher, princess, shop keeper or assistant, and dinner lady. (In contrast males were shown in eighteen occupations.) In Britain, there are five million dependent children who have mothers working outside of the home. Two out of five women hold outside jobs and in twenty percent of the households, a woman is the chief wage earner (Dixon 1977). Over seventy-five percent of the children at Homewood have mothers who are employed outside of the home and most of them are not teachers, princesses, shop assistants, or dinner ladies. The lack in these books of women successful in outside occupations deprives girls of successful models to emulate and probably ensures that girls with such aspirations will receive little encouragement from their school experiences at this level of education (Lobban 1976).

If one accepts the research findings which suggest that children learn from observation of same-sex models which behaviors are appropriate for one of their own sex and that they learn from other models the behaviors appropriate for the opposite sex, these reading schemes could only serve to reinforce the "patriarchal sex-roles the children have already learned" (Lobban 1974: 42). The Plowden Report encourages schools have all pupils do traditionally one-sex activities. The content of reading schemes used in schools is directly contradictory to this policy (Lobban 1974). The Inner London Educational Authority's Standing Committee on Career Opportunities for Women and Girls apparently realized this contradiction, and in 1973 reported:

> It is our view that there must be fundamental changes in the choice of materials and methods from the nursery school upwards... All possible emphasis should be given in the preparation of materials...to combat traditional attitudes and to broaden the concept of the roles of women in society (Children's Rights Workshop 1976: 4).

It would seem that in the past four years since this report was issued little has been done to change female's images in reading materials. If any change in this area has occurred, it has not affected Homewood First School. They still use these three series of reading schemes which are sexist in content.

Thus, it has been shown that schools present children with models that conform to society's standards of sex-appropriate behavior. Because children look to models to learn appropriate behaviors, there is a great chance that identification with these same-sex models will have an effect upon the children.

## Sex Role Stereotyping of Occupational Choices

Although no direct relationships have been demonstrated, identification processes appear relevant to career choice insofar as the learning of sex roles is involved. These six- and seven-year-old children in the class in which I observed are in the fantasy period of occupational development. During this period, children take no account of reality factors in their occupational choices (Morrison and McIntyre 1971). I asked the children in Miss Smith's class to answer, in writing, the following question:

> What do you want to be when you grow up?

Their replies to this question are listed in Table III. As can be seen, the occupational choices of boys and girls were divided along gender lines.

Table III:

Sex Role Stereotyping of Occupational Choices

| Occupations chosen by girls | no. | Occupations chosen by boys | no. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Shopkeeper | 2 | Accountant | 1 |
| Nurse | 4 | Ice cream man | 1 |
| Teacher | 4 | Spaceman | 2 |
| Jockey | 1 | Footballer | 3 |
| Hairdresser | 1 | Doctor | 1 |
| | | Race driver | 1 |
| | | Paper maker | 1 |
| | | Policeman | 2 |
| | | Navyman | 1 |
| | N=12 | | N=13 |

The only occupation chosen by a girl that might be considered inappropriate for females was jockey. Similarly, the boys chose occupations that are frequently pictured in books as masculine occupations. Only one boy chose an occupation that is not frequently shown in books. His job choice was paper maker. The child commented, when he answered the question, that he wanted to do what his daddy did. Also, it should be noted that the boys in the class chose a wider range of occupations than the girls did. There did seem to be a positive relationship between the occupations of same-sex models in their books and their career choices.

To discover what occupations children thought that other boys and girls might choose, I conducted two exercises on later occasions. Both times, the children were given a selection of eight occupations - four which are normally portrayed in books as masculine occupations (i.e., Dad, doctor, judge and Prime Minister) and four considered to be feminine occupations (i.e., Mum, nurse, secreatry and teacher). The first time I posed the following question to the children:

> Janet and Michael are deciding what they want to be when they grow up. What will they be? You may choose two answers for each.

The children were told nothing about these two fictitious characters other than Janet was a girl, Michael was a boy, and they were six- or seven-years old. On another occasion, I listed on the board these same eight occupations and asked the children to rank these in order of importance. The children, on both occasions, wrote their answers on paper. The results of these exercises have been recorded in Tables IV and V.

In the left hand column of Table IV, the occupations are listed. In the next two columns, the number of girls who assigned the occupations to the characters is recorded. In the far right hand corner, the average ranking the girls assigned to each occupation is recorded. Table V, which was constructed in the same manner as Table IV, lists the boys' answers. (It should be noted that some of the children did not answer every part of every question.)

Table IV:

Girls' projected occupational choices

| Occupation | Janet | Michael | Ranking |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dad | 0 | 5 | 7 (tied) |
| Doctor | 0 | 6 | 5 |
| Judge | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| Mum | 6 | 0 | 4 |
| Nurse | 5 | 0 | 3 |
| Prime Minister | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Secretary | 7 | 0 | 7 (tied) |
| Teacher | 6 | 2 | 2 |

N = 13

Table V:

Boys' projected occupational choices

| Occupation | Janet | Michael | Ranking |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dad | 0 | 2 | 6 (tied) |
| Doctor | 0 | 5 | 1 |
| Judge | 0 | 4 | 3 |
| Mum | 7 | 0 | 6 (tied) |
| Nurse | 9 | 0 | 5 |
| Prime Minister | 0 | 4 | 2 |
| Secretary | 0 | 1 | 4 |
| Teacher | 3 | 2 | 7 |

N = 13

Not only was there a difference between the boys' and girls' ranking of the occupations, but they also usually thought most of the jobs that were typically held by members of their own sex were more important than most of the jobs held by persons of the opposite sex. None of the children assigned jobs such as doctor, judge, Prime Minister or dad to the female character. Similarly, nurse and mum were assigned only to Janet. The only three jobs assigned to Janet were teacher, nurse, and mum. It is interesting to note that the only time any child assigned secretary to either character was when one boy listed this job as Michael's choice. (Secretary is pictured as a female's job in most books.) Also, girls saw mum as more important than dad. However, the boys ranked these two jobs as being equal. These exercises not only showed that the children usually assigned sex-appropriate jobs to others, but that they deemed jobs that persons of their own gender hold as being more important.

## Sex Role Stereotyping of Personality Characteristics

To find out how the children perceived children of the same sex and the opposite sex, I conducted two written exercises on separate occasions. I listed ten characteristics on the board. The first time, I asked the children,

> Which of these characteristics listed on the board belong to Janet, to Michael, or to both?

On another occasion, I listed the same characteristics and told the children,

> Think of the perfect person. Now, look at these characteristics that I have listed on the board. Which of these do you think would be most important for the perfect person to have? Which would be second most important? Third? I want you to use all of these characteristics and list them in order of their importance.

The results are listed in Tables VI and VII. In the left hand column of Table VI, the characteristics are listed. In the next two columns, the number of girls who assigned the characteristics to Janet and Michael is listed. In the far right hand corner, the average ranking the girls assigned each characteristic is recorded. Using the boys' answers, Table VII was constructed on the same principle as Table VI. It should be noted that four children did not answer every part of every question.

Table VI:

Girls' evaluations of personality characteristics

| Characteristic | Janet | Michael | Ranking |
|---|---|---|---|
| Athletic | 6 | 8 | 6 |
| Artistic | 8 | 2 | 8 |
| Brave | 4 | 9 | 1 |
| Complaining | 5 | 10 | 5 |
| Curious | 2 | 8 | 9 |
| Laughs | 10 | 8 | 10 |
| Quiet | 8 | 5 | 3 |
| Selfish | 1 | 9 | 7 |
| Smart | 7 | 7 | 4 |
| Tidy | 9 | 3 | 2 |

N = 13

Table VII:

Boys' evaluations of personality characteristics

| Characteristic | Janet | Michael | Ranking |
|---|---|---|---|
| Athletic | 6 | 10 | 4 |
| Artistic | 3 | 10 | 5 |
| Brave | 1 | 10 | 1 |
| Complaining | 8 | 4 | 9 |
| Curious | 8 | 5 | 8 |
| Laughs | 6 | 10 | 7 |
| Quiet | 8 | 9 | 6 |
| Selfish | 6 | 5 | 10 |
| Smart | 3 | 9 | 2 |
| Tidy | 3 | 7 | 3 |

N = 13

It can be seen that there were differences not only in the characteristics that the children assigned to Janet and Michael, but also in their conceptions of a perfect person. Although no statistical analysis has been conducted, it would appear that the girls tended to rate Janet as closer to being an ideal person than Michael. However, there was not a tremendous difference between their ratings of the two characters. Similarly, the boys tended to rate Michael as being much more like their perfect person than Janet. The children thought that bravery was the most important of these characteristics and both the male and female pupils assigned this characteristic more frequently to Michael. Also, the children assigned athletic ability more frequently to Michael than to Janet. They more often designated the traits of tidy, artistic, quiet, and laughing to the character of their own sex. On the other hand, they tended to assign the characteristics of curious, complaining and selfish to the opposite sex character. From these results, it appears that there are marked differences in the ways boys and girls at Homewood perceive others. Although it has not been proven, these results may be the products of sex-role socialization.

## Summary and Conclusions

It has been shown that people learn sex-appropriate behavior through socialization. Part of this socialization process takes place within the school. Because one job of the teacher is to communicate to children the ideas of a society (Cronbach 1963), it can be inferred that one job of a British infant school teacher is to convey to children that the sexes are different and should behave differently. Teachers at Homewood fulfill this responsibility by acting as models, segregating the sexes, assigning tasks on the basis of gender, encouraging sex-appropriate behavior and discouraging sex-inappropriate behavior. Peers also aid in this process by showing their disapproval when children fail to conform to the behavior deemed appropriate to their sex.

Children's reading books also convey to boys and girls that the sexes are different and should behave differently. Although no direct relationship has been proven, it appears that there is a positive relationship between sex-role socialization and career choice (Morrison and McIntyre 1971). This hypothesis was supported by the Homewood children's choices of sex-appropriate careers for themselves and others. The children also tended to rate jobs higher that are normally held by the opposite sex. There was a difference between boys' and girls' conceptions of the ideal person. They tended to rate same-sex characters as being more similar to their model person than opposite characters. Thus, it would appear that the children thought the sexes were different and that their own sex was better than the opposite sex. Although there is no conclusive evidence, this difference may be the result of sex-role socialization.

As there was a limited amount of time in which to conduct this project, several questions have been left unanswered:

1) Is this data reliable-would there be similar findings in other schools if social class were held constant?

2) Can these findings be generalized across class lines?

Both questions could be answered through observation in additional schools with children from social class backgrounds similar to the pupils at Homewood and from observation of children from other social classes. The same questions as I asked the children at Homewood could be asked and the results could be compared to the results of my study. However, there still remains the questions of the effect other institutions have upon sex-role socialization. (These institutions include the church, the family, and television). The effects of other institutions could be determined through observation of children in these settings, analysis of the literature children use in different situations and analysis of the content of television programs. The effects of institutions other than school must not be discounted when studying sex-role socialization. Children learn from all of their experiences and not just their classroom experiences.

## References

Anonymous
1977 "Sex-stereotyping and the teacher." Pp. 5-8 in Bob White (ed.) Non-Sexist Teaching Materials and Approaches. London: New Childhood Press.

Banton, Michael
1965 Roles. London: Tavistock Publications.

Children's Rights Workshop
1976 Sexism in Children's Books: Facts, Figures and Guidelines. London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative.

Comer, Lee
1974 Wedlocked Women. Leeds: John Blackburn.

Cronback, Lee J.
1963 Educational Psychology. Second Edition. London: Rupert Hart-Davis.

Czaplinski, Suzanne M.
1976 "Sexism in award winning picture books." Pp. 26-37 in Sexism in Children's Books: Facts, Figures and Guidelines. London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative.

Henslin, James M. (ed.)
1972 Down to Earth Sociology. New York: Free Press.

Hole, Judith and Ellen Levine
1971 Rebirth of Feminism. New York: Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Company.

Johnson, Ronald C. and Gene R. Medinnus
1969 Child Psychology-Behavior and Development. Second edition. New York: John Wiley.

Lefrancois, Guy R.
1973 Of Children. Belmont, California: Wadsworth.

Lobban, Glenys
1975 "Sexism in British primary schools." Pp. 10-13 in C. Esther Hodge (ed.). Women Speaking. Bath, Avon, England: Lonsdale Universal Printing.

1976 "Sex-roles in reading schemes." Pp. 38-42 in Children's Rights Workshop. Sexism in Children's Books: Facts, Figures, and Guidelines. London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative.

Lynn, David B.
1969 "The process of learning parental and sex-role identification." In Jerome M. Seidman (ed.). The Child: A Book of Readings. Second edition. New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston.

Maccoby, Eleanor Emmons and Carol Nagy Jacklin
1975 The Psychology of Sex Differences. London: Oxford University Press.

Merton, Robert K.
1957 Social Theory and Social Structure. New York: The Free Press.

Morrison, Arthur and Donald McIntyre
1971 Schools and Socialization. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books.

Registrar General
1970 "Classification of Occupations." London: HMSO.

Sharpe, Sue
1976 "Just Like A Girl ": How Girls Learn to Be Women. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books.

Webster, A. M.
1973 Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary. London: G. Bill.

Weitzman, Lenore J.
1974 "Sex role socialization." In Jo Freeman (ed.) Women: A Feminist Perspective. California: Mayfield Publishing Company.

# An Outlook on Integration of "Maladjusted" or "at risk" Children in the Infants' School

by

Sheila J. Moy

This study was undertaken in the summer of 1977 in Great Britain. The purpose of going to Great Britain, ratner than remaining in the United States to study the early childhood socialization of emotionally disturbed or maladjusted (the term used in Great Britain) children in the ordinary school, was to observe how these children are integrated into the British informal infants' school classroom. I was interested in studying how maladjusted children could benefit or lose out from attending an ordinary school, especially one in which the school has been set up on an informal class structure, a system of education in Great Britain which shows traces of influences from Dr. Maria Montessori in the ideals of free movement inside and outside the confines of the classroom and encouragement of sensory manipulation of different objects and materials (e.g., sand, water, clay, rocks, shells, and paints). I was also interested in any detrimental effects of the informal class structures that may have a profound influence on the progress or social development of the maladjusted child or a child with tendencies toward maladjustment.

Part of my interest in observing or studying the maladjusted child in the ordinary classroom is my concern for how an educational institution, like the ordinary infant school, can help or deter the progress of these children with special problems through the influences of teachers and peers. The infant school is especially interesting since it receives:

> An unsorted group: future university entrants, children who may later need special education, those with minor physical handicaps, the cherished and the neglected all arrive in the reception class together (Webb 1967: 11).

It is also a practice that children are not sent to special schools before the age of seven after examinations by various specialists such as a doctor, a psychiatrist and an educational psychologist and after experiencing infant's school (Webb 1967: 78). I feel that not only the tone of the informal infant school can be important in affecting a child with tendencies toward maladjustment, but the opportunity for free interaction among the teacher and the pupils and among the pupils themselves can either be beneficial or detrimental depending on the warmth of the relationship among the members of the class (this also includes the teacher). I feel that the feasibility of integrating a child with maladjusted behaviors or tendencies toward maladjusted behaviors is dependent on the views of the child held by the teacher and the peers; for unless there is a willing acceptance of the child into the membership of the class and school (Foster 1975: 92) and a willingness to help the child to overcome his or her problems, the maladjusted child will not benefit emotionally nor socially from attending an ordinary school.

## Research Procedures

The study was conducted in two parts. The first four weeks were spent in participant-observation in an infant school. The last three weeks of the study were spent on a library search for general information about the education of the maladjusted in Great Britain, services offered to them through outside agencies, and the problem of integration of the maladjusted child into the ordinary school. During the last three weeks, I also participated in an interview with the educational psychologist who was in charge of the school psychological service in the section of the Leeds Educational Authority's schools in which the infant school, where I was placed, was located.

During the first four weeks, I spent nine days at the infants' school: five full days and four half days. During these nine days, I spent most of my time observing one class and, in particular, two girls in this class. I also devoted part of my time to observing the behavior of a girl from a different classroom. I was interested in observing the behavior of these girls and their interaction with their peers since they exhibited behaviors which deviated somewhat from the behaviors of their peers; however, it is necessary to point out that these children are not necessarily maladjusted. I discussed the behavior of these children and their interactions with other children and with their respective teachers to see if my observations of these behaviors correlated with what the teachers have observed. I also had a chance to interview the headmaster of the school on: how maladjusted children are identified in the school, how they are dealt with if it is noted that they have not made much progress in school or if their behaviors absolutely deterred them from integrating into or learning within the class, and what steps are taken by the school to refer the child for outside help.

I will present this paper in three parts. The first part will concentrate on the basic terms and definitions that are to be dealt with in this paper and some of the social implications and views of maladjustment prevalent in Great Britain today, and explore some of the probable causes of maladjustment. In the second part of the paper, I will provide the description of the school were I was placed and a description of informal education as exhibited in that school. I will also provide three case study sketches of the three girls I previously mentioned with behaviors that deviated from the other children around them. Following the case studies, I will attempt to review the case studies and literature on the integration of the maladjusted in the regular school, the problems and good points about informal class structure in aiding or detracting from the integration of these children, and the roles of the teachers and peers in helping or deterring the progress of a child with special needs. In this section I will also take a brief look at some of the services which are available in dealing with maladjusted children. Finally, in the last section I will make some recommendations that I feel are important in the interest of integrating the maladjusted child in the ordinary school.

## Maladjustment: Terms and Implications

In Great Britain, as in most western countries, differentiations have been made among the different types of handicaps; these include the classifications of mentally handicapped, physically handicapped and maladjusted (Weiks 1971: 9). The term maladjusted can signify many different things depending on who is using the term. The Handicapped Pupils and School Health Service Regulation (1945) defined maladjustment in pupils as "emotional instability" and "psychological disturbance" (Department of Education and Science 1955: 22). Another way to describe or define maladjustment is "a breakdown between the child and the social demands with which he is confronted" (Weiks 1971: 10). The 1955 Committee on Maladjusted Children, under the auspices of the Department of Education and Science and headed by J. E. A. Underwood, used maladjustment to describe "an individual's relation at a particular time to the people and circumstances which make up his environment...a child may be regarded as maladjusted who is developing in ways that have a bad effect on himself or his fellows and cannot without help be remedied by his parents, teachers and other adults in ordinary contact with him" (Department of Education and Science 1955: 22).

It has also been noted by many authors that maladjustment is situation specific (Department of Education and Science 1955: 22, Caspari 1976: 40, The Open University 1976: 22, Department of Education and Science 1965: 1, Rutter 1975: [illegible]). This is to say that maladjustment in an individual may only be seen when encountering specific situations, persons, or things. A child can be maladjusted at home, but be perfectly happy and adjusted in the school and vice versa (The Open University 1976: 22). Another point which needs to be pointed out about maladjustment is the fact that maladjusted children are not necessarily generally nor intellectually impaired (Weiks 1971: 123) although their maladjustment in the school situation may interfere with learning. It is also important to note that "maladjustment in children covers a wide range of different symptoms" (Department of Education and Science 1965: 4).

Within the classification of maladjustment, there are many symptoms which define other aspects of maladjustment, such as aggressiveness and withdrawal. Aggression is the easiest symptom to observe. However, maladjustment does not necessarily mean that in the cases of children, they will have "domestic differences or come in conflict with the law nor...

are they necessarily unruly. Indeed, some of those who are most severely maladjusted are quiet and passive" (Department of Education and Science 1955: 3). Indeed, much is said about aggression in the States, but very little is said about withdrawal. The term withdrawal

> is now widely used to describe many conditions, to some psychiatrists it covers the extreme isolation of some types of schizophrenia, while for many teachers it may be a legitimate description of the temporary shyness exhibited by a small child faced by a new situation or strange persons (Webb 1967: 77).

For the purpose of this paper, withdrawal can be described as refusal to participate in social contact and activities. It has been noted that the withdrawn child is extremely timid and shies away from any group contact and has a tendency to day dream (MacLean 1966: 71). Although most young children upon first entering school display some of these behaviors, it must be noted that continuation of this behavior over a long period should not be considered due to shyness (Webb 1967: 78).

The problem of maladjustment is greater than most people suspect in Great Britain. Thus figures from these different geographical areas produced for the Underwood Committee on Maladjusted Children showed that there were anywhere from 5.8 to 11.8 percent of the children in the population who may be identified as being maladjusted and that there may be others who may need special help (Gulliford 1971: 39). For example, one study produced a figure of 6 percent of the population of children on the Isle of Wight as having a psychiatric disorder (Gulliford 1975: 14).

With these larger figures, the questions come up: "What will be done with these children?" and "Which treatment will be more successful?" The Underwood Committee on Maladjusted Children answered these questions by stating that "Too little is yet known about maladjustment in children and the ways in which it can be successfully treated to make it possible to generalize or to suggest ready made solutions..." (Department of Education and Science 1955: 1). "As things are at present similar children with similar behaviour difficulties are often sent to dissimilar educational routes" (Clegg and Megson 1968: 16). This is due to the difficulty in identifying or diagnosing the needs of the maladjusted child which are in contrast to the very obvious needs of other types of handicaps (e.g., blindness, muscular dystrophy, or spina bifida). Even given that the child has been diagnosed as maladjusted, there are still many different channels left open as to what should be done (i.e., remove the child from the ordinary school and place him or her in a residential school for the maladjusted, place the child in a special day school, place the child in an ordinary school with special classes, give the child remedial help, take the child out of his home and place him or her in a hostel or with foster parents, or leave the child where he or she is), although any thoughts of placements must be based on an educational decision (Gulliford 1975: 8).

Not only is there a need to find successful treatments for maladjustment, but an effort must also be made to find the causes of maladjustment. There have already been some suggestions as to the environmental aspects and situational specificity of maladjustment (Department of Education 1955: 22, The Open University 1976: 22, The Department of Education and Science 1965: 1, Caspari 1976: 40). The Underwood Committee on Maladjusted Children listed five main groups of factors that may be involved in maladjustment in children: personal relationships, family environment, community influences, physical factors and educational factors. They stress, however, that there are as many different factors that affect maladjustment as there is variety in human life (Department of Education and Science 1955: 29).

One major concern about the possible causes of maladjustment is that which regards the home and economic difficulties. Children "at risk" are categorized into five groups: socially and culturally deprived children; families whose personal relationships suffer from some degree of impairment or where there is some emotional neglect; families where there is a serious or irreversible physical or mental illness or a disabling handicap; the child who has one parent only, whether it is because of illegitimacy, divorce, desertion or death; and families affected by disruptive crises (Demster 1965: 136). All the "at risk" categories listed above have the source of the problem as the home and the social and economic difficulties of the home.

Since the economic factor of the home has been mentioned, one must mention the problem of poverty and its effects on the overall adjustment in a child. It is important to note that poverty does not necessarily have to cause maladjustment, especially if poverty was the general state of things, people and places with which the child comes into contact (Yapp 1961: 84). Yet, poverty can be a "dangerous" weapon in terms of being thought of as one of the causes of maladjustment (Clegg and Megson 1968: 22). Poverty can be dangerous when the child's

> ...family's cultural or class standards are radically different from those of the families with whom they are thrown into daily contact. Such conditions can give rise to feelings of hatred or rejection in the child and cause maladjustment. (Department of Education and Science 1955: 31).

Another probable cause of maladjustment is "failure in personal relationships" (Department of Education and Science 1955: 30) since adjustment must be dependent on an individual being able to relate socially to others. If personal relationships fail for a young child, he or she may be disposed toward maladjustment because of isolation from contact with other children and adults. Sometimes, the failure of personal relationships may be due to social deprivation, lack of early experiences in dealing with others, especially, other children (Department of Education and Science 1965: 3), or differences of family social or cultural background (Yapp 1961: 84). The failure of personal relationships due to lack of early experience may not be as detrimental to a child as one in which the failure in personal relationships is due to the child's economic background. The child who lacks experience may be able to gain experience with other children through attending school, but how does one make up for the loss if a child who comes from a very poor family and is rejected by the other children. In this case the child may be more predisposed to maladjustment than the child who fails in relationships merely because of not having had enough experience.

## Case Studies and Literature on Integration

Description of the School. Queensway School is a Junior Mixed Infants' School located between the townships of Guiseley and Yeadon in the midst of council estates (similar to public housing in the U.S.). Queensway is a modern one-storey brick and glass building which was built five years ago. The school approximates a rectangle in shape with a paved inside courtyard and roofed over porches at the side of the building. The school is also situated in the center of a big grassy field. The school is built on the semi-open plan, meaning that there are no doors separating the classrooms from the main corridor. If privacy is needed, gold, orange or green drapes are drawn to close off the room from the corridor. Queensway was originally built for 250 pupils, but the pupil enrollment has now reached 404. They have four temporary classrooms for four junior classes.

There are 12 classes at Queensway, two of which had been combined to make one class. There are five infants' classes and seven junior classes. The five infants' classes are vertically grouped (all infants from age five years to seven years remained in the same class). The junior classes, on the other hand, are grouped by ages.

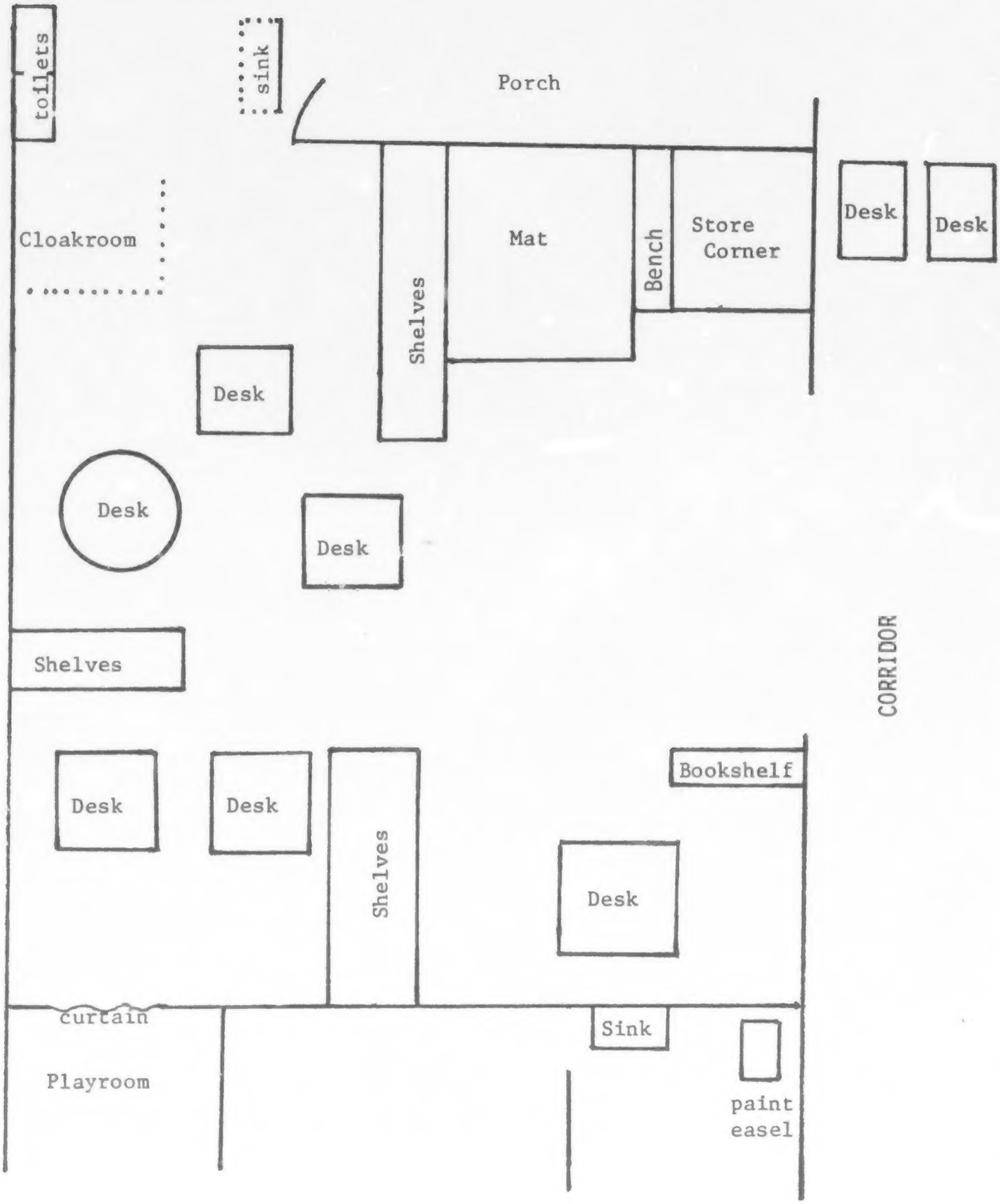
The school schedule began roughly at 9:00 in the morning, the bell usually rang at 9:00. The students waited outside in the enclosed porch area for their teachers to arrive to open the door for them. The children have a break from approximately 10:30 to 11:00 and go out to play in the field if it is not wet outside. The teachers return to the staff room at this time to have morning tea. One or two teachers are usually assigned play duty and go around the field during this time to watch over the children. There is also another break from 12:00 to 1:30 for lunch. Since there are so many children, there are two sittings for dinner (as the British call their noonday meal). Some of the children return home for their dinner, and some remain for dinner. While the first sitting is eating, the rest of the children go and play out in the field. The roles are reversed when the second sitting goes in for dinner at 12:30. By 1:00 all the children who have remained at school for dinner are out in the field playing. During the afternoon session, there is a break from approximately 2:30-3:00 in which the children, again, go out to play while the teachers go to the staff room for tea. The school day for the infant class ends at 3:30 while the junior classes continue until 4:00. The school schedule is fairly flexible, so that allowances could be made for special occasions. On Friday mornings, the Assembly is held; it is the only thing required by law in Great Britain -- some religious education. Assemblies on Fridays are usually held at 10:20 for the entire school. Each is presented by one class in the school. During other times in the week, Assemblies are held at various times and in small groups of two classes.

Description of the Class. The class that I chose to observe was taught by a young teacher, Mrs. Johnson. The classroom itself was about 20 to 25 feet square with a cloakroom and toilets off to the side (see Figure 1 for more details on the classroom). There were two tables outside in the corridor that were also used by the members of this class. To the immediate left of the entrance of the room coming in from the corridor is a combined wet and easel painting area. This little passageway also connected an adjoining infants' class. To the right of the entrance is a little cornered-off area where the children could play shop. Right next to it was a maroon plastic rug where Mrs. Johnson had the children sit when she took roll call or gathered the entire class together for instructions or story time. There were five tables placed in different areas of the room, each table being laid out each day by Mrs. Johnson for a different activity.

Since Queensway School, especially the infants' classes were run on the integrated day, an average schedule in Mrs. Johnson's class could be described as the following: 9:00 the children come in and sit down on the rug for convocation whereby Mrs. Johnson took roll, sometimes had show and tell, and read a story. After this, she would assign different children to do different work (e.g., numbers, writing, drawing, or reading), and she would let a small majority decide for themselves which activities they wanted to do -- these were generally the youngest in the class, those who had just turned five or will become five before the end of the term. If the other children had finished their activities, they were permitted to do whatever they wanted to do, provided that the teacher had been asked first. On the more structured activities like numbers and reading, the children decide for themselves when they are finished with their work. If play time interrupts their work, they can always return to it after playtime. Usually after playtime the children resume with their work if they are not finished and Mrs. Johnson may assign work to children who had not done any work in the morning. The rest of the children are free to do any activities that they please. (That is, they need to ask permission first for some activities like going out to play with sand in the roofed over porch; or going out into the courtyard, or even going outside to the corridor to the reading alcove or music corner. The other activities, such as painting and playing with clay or cutting out materials to make collages do not require permission as long as there is space for one to do it.) The structure of the afternoon is much like the morning.

There were 34 pupils in the class, although I never saw all of them attending class at one time. In the British informal infant school system, the children can take some time off and go on holiday with their

figure 1
Plan of Classroom


toilets
sink
Porch
Cloakroom
Shelves
Mat
Bench
Store Corner
Desk
Desk
Desk
Desk
Desk
Shelves
CORRIDOR
Bookshelf
Desk
Desk
Shelves
Desk
curtain
Sink
Playroom
paint easel

parents during regular school term. Also, there was a measle outbreak going around during the term I was observing the class.

Case Study Sketches.

Alice. Alice is a girl who is just turning five. This was the first term she was attending school. She was fairly well-dressed and clean. Her mother delivers Alice to school in the morning and after lunch and comes to pick her up before lunch and after school.

Alice is very reserved. The first occassion that I noticed her behavior took place on a day the class had P.E. Mrs. Johnson told the children to find a chair and begin to change for P.E. Alice remained sitting on the floor. Mrs. Johnson walked up to Alice and asked her if she was going to participate in P.E. today to which Alice did not reply. Mrs. Johnson told her to get up from the floor and to sit down on a chair. Later, when we were in the big hall which had been converted for P.E., Alice sat by herself in a corner. Mrs. Johnson told me that Alice was still afraid to play with the equipment as yet. Alice remained seated in her chair, observing the other children using the ropes, ladders, and beams, without uttering a word.

Upon returning to the class, Mrs. Johnson had assigned Alice to sit with a group of other children who were cutting up gummed-back squares and glueing them on sheets of gray construction paper. Alice remained seated with her hands on her lap, not saying a word, but just looking at her paper. The other children were hard at work. I went over to Alice and asked her if she was thinking about something to make. Alice responded by looking down like she was going to break out in tears if I said another word. I withdrew to observe her. She did not do any work, although she did pull out two strands of yarn and began to play with them. The first time and only time she spoke that day in my presence was when one of the boys sitting next to her asked if I had given it to her. Alice replied, "My friend gave it to me. It came from a doll." After this Alice continued to play with the yarn although she gave a strand to the boy when he asked for one strand.

As time passed, I continued to observe Alice, I noticed that she did not pay great attention at the convocation in the morning when show and tell's were being given or when Mrs. Johnson read stories. When the other children sang songs, Alice did not join in. It appeared later that the reason she did not join in was because she did not know the songs or the words. Alice usually just sat by herself looking about the classroom and fingering her dress while Mrs. Johnson read to the children.

Alice did not talk very much. On the second day that I was observing that class, I tried to talk to Alice. On that occassion the conversation was almost one sided:

"Alice, do you know how to read yet?"

After a few seconds hesitation, she shook her head.

"How old are you?"

Again, after a few seconds hesitation, she said very softly, "I don't know."

I thought that she may not be able to comprehend the years, so using my fingers to indicate years five, six or seven, I asked her, "Are you five fingers old, six fingers old, or seven fingers old?"

Again, she said, "I don't know."

Although this conversation did not seem to be very important, it helped to break the ice between the two of us. She proceeded to get books that she liked and asked me to read them to her. Another girl, Sharon came up and joined our group. I tried to ask questions about the story or the picture. Most of the time Sharon answered before Alice ever had a chance.

Alice, as mentioned earlier, did not participate in any activities in P.E. nor did she do much in the classroom, at least in the first few days I observed her. On one occassion Mrs. Johnson chose Alice to get up from a doubled up position and touch the head of everyone so that they could leave for lunch. Alice would not do it. She remained seated until finally Mrs. Johnson had to pick someone else. (This was a very popular thing to do -- all the children would love to be chosen to do what Mrs. Johnson asked Alice to do. Alice had also seen other children do it before.) Alice returned to her doubled up position and did not budge even though she had been touched. The children around her, nudged her and told her that she had been touched, and she could leave. Alice finally, did get up and leave to go home for lunch. Afterwards, I had a chance to speak to Mrs. Johnson about Alice. Mrs. Johnson also was not sure of Alice's correct age, but said she had either just turned five or was a little younger. She agreed with me about Alice's quietness, but felt that Alice would outgrow it. She told me that Alice seldom played with any of the other children although she had a younger brother at home. In subsequent talks with Mrs. Johnson, she told me that Alice's mother said Alice did not have much experience playing with other children. Alice's mother also said that Alice was very active at home and could not be kept quiet. Mrs. Johnson felt that it was a little hard for Alice being thrown into a large boisterous class when she did not have enough time to spend individually with each child. Mrs. Johnson felt that Alice's problem was not very serious and she would be able to get more individualized attention next fall when the class size would decrease to 24-25.

One very interesting thing that struck me was how the other children acted toward Alice, especially the older girls. Mrs. Johnson had mentioned to me that the other children seemed to like Alice, and they did show it. Angela, one of the seven-year-olds in the class, on several occasions was seen to have guided Alice to do things, such as working on a jigsaw puzzle or cleaning out a metal tray that was being used as a painting palate. Tracy Ann, a very verbose seven-year-old informed me that,"I have to take care of Alice." Helen, another seven-year-old, on one occasion walked up to us and asked me, "Has Alice talked to you yet?" Alice replied before I even had the chance.

Perhaps, the girls' fight to win Alice's friendship can be best understood in a conversation which took place among three girls while painting. Alice was also at the same table painting. They first began arguing who was a better friend of Alice and then proceeded to talk about Alice.

Helen: "Alice is quiet today, isn't she?"

Carolina: "She's always quiet."

Angela: "She's quiet because she's shy."

Helen: "You aren't shy, are you Alice?"

Alice: "I like being quiet."

This latter statement was said very softly, almost inaudibly. I later questioned Mrs. Johnson as to whether the girls were helping Alice on their own without any urging from her. She said the children were all helping Alice without having to be asked.

On the last few days that I was at the school, I noticed some remarkable changes in Alice. She began to make some effort to pay attention to things at the morning convocation. For example, she paid attention as four older girls went to the front of the class to practice the recorder part of the "Music Man." Alice also began to sing some of the refrains of songs that other children were singing. Alice also began to initiate activities on her own, like painting, playing store, and making collages. Mrs. Johnson also noted the change and related that Alice had come up to her and told her "I can do jigsaws now, I couldn't do it before." Although Alice made progress in these aspects, she still did not participate in P.E.

Anna. Anna is in the same class as Alice. Like Alice, Anna is in school for the first term. She has just turned five but she is extremely small for her age. Anna, like Alice, is also very quiet. Although Anna appears to be well fed, she is not very hygenic; an odor of stale urine pervades around her. The clothes that she wears are not very clean, and not well suited since some of the sleeves on her dress cover up her hands. Her hair is wavy, but it does not look like it has been combed or brushed.

Anna did not approach me like any of the other children who tended to surround me during my entire visit at the school. However, once I made a slight show of interest in her, she quickly tried to become attached to me. Like Alice, she did not talk very often nor very loudly. She did her work quietly without any fuss.

The other children tried to avoid her or made comments about her hygenic conditions, using such phrases as "stinker" or "stinky-pooh." One day while everyone was standing in line to go to Assembly in another infants' classroom, everyone grabbed a partner. Anna did not have a partner. The children around her were pushing Anna around and calling her "stinky-pooh." Anna made no comments, but allowed herself to be pushed around and called names. Finally, I told the children to stop their rude behavior. As I did so, Thomas, Anna's older brother who was also in the same class walked up and took Anna's hand. On the last day I was at Queensway, a Jubilee Party was held in honor of the Silver Jubilee. The infants' classes were all in the Great Hall, each class forming their own circle to pass a package around. Thomas and Anna were excluded from this circle; they sat on the outer fringe until Mrs. Johnson went over to make space for them. Later, when everyone went out in the field to sing and play games, no one chose Thomas nor Anna to be in their chains. (This is a game where the children go around singing with the leaders and tapping the shoulders of those they want to be in their chain. They could only tap at certain times in the song.)

Anna appeared very passive on another occasion besides the one in which she was being pushed around. Once when we were out on the playground, her brother was being pursued by older boys who were probably in the junior classes. Even when her brother had been pinned down and remained on the ground crying after I told the other boys to release him, Anna showed no emotion nor concern for her brother. Mrs. Johnson had told me that much of Anna's problem was a combination of rejection on the part of her peers and the economic status of her home. I talked to Tracy Ann to ask if she played with Anna. Tracy Ann said no, and when I asked her why not, she changed the subject. Unlike Alice, Anna does not have the support of the children in her class.

Patrice. Patrice is a seven-year-old girl from another infants' class. Her teacher is Mrs. Smith. Since I did not observe in Mrs. Smith's class, my observations of Patrice were mostly taken from a field trip to Harewood House. Harewood House is an estate, complete with a stately manor, a lake, a tropical bird house, stables that have been converted into a cafeteria, toilets, a butterfly house, a souvenir shop, a bird garden, and two adventure playsets. These play sets were constructed of wood -- the larger one resembling a fort, the smaller one appearing more like more conventional playground playsets. The estate is owned by the Earl of Harewood, the first cousin of Queen Elizabeth. The estate had been converted for public use and tours, although the Earl and his wife continue to live on the top floors of the manor. I also had some observations of Patrice in the playground interacting with other children.

On the outing to Harewood House, Patrice was one of six children under the watchful eyes of Mrs. Clark, the non-teaching assistant at Queensway school. I stayed with this group the entire time I was there. After we alighted from our bus, the children gathered around their adult group leader and either held her hand or one of the other children's hand. Patrice had asked me if I would hold her hand as we walked toward the bird garden, I told her I would. From that moment on, it was very hard to detach myself from Patrice. If I let go of her hand momentarily to point out birds she would grab my hand as soon as I had pointed the birds out. Throughout the entire field trip, Patrice coveted my hand and was not otherwise very attentive.

When we were in the Butterfly House, Patrice began to be spiteful when I showed any attention to anyone else. On several occasions I thought I saw her shoving or kicking the girls that I had lifted so they could see better. While she pushed these girls aside, she grabbed my hand. I did catch her kicking one girl, and I told her she should not be doing that. Patrice denied that she did anything, walked away and said she did not want to see the displays. Patrice has shown this type of behavior out on the field at Queensway also. Several times she forceably ripped away the hand of a girl who was holding my hand and slipped hers in instead. On one occasion I was out on the playing field involved in a game in which everyone joined hands in a circle. Patrice came running up ripped Helen's hand away from me and held onto my hand. Helen started to complain that she held my hand first; Patrice countered and said she had not. After the game was over, I found myself surrounded by children so I could not see what was going on. I heard Helen and Patrice arguing. The next minute I heard Helen crying. She claimed Patrice hit her on her arm. The junior girls substantiated this and said Patrice had started it although Patrice said Helen had done it first. I had told both girls when they first started to bicker that it did not matter who was holding my hand. Patrice left soon after the incident.

When we were at Harewood House, I did not observe Patrice playing nicely with anyone. The children had been given a little time to play at the smaller adventure playsets after walking through the Butterfly

House. Patrice did not play, rather she came up to Mrs. Clark and asked her when we were going to the house. Mrs. Clark had replied that we were going a little later and told Patrice not to be such a nuisance. Patrice went off and stood by herself without playing.

When we finally got to the house, we were handed booklets on the House which Mrs. Clark held for her group since several of the children had mud and dirt on their hands. Patrice kept asking for a copy although Mrs. Clark explained to her that she would hand them out when everyone got back to school because if she handed them out now everyone would get theirs dirty. Patrice persisted in asking until we entered the house.

While we were in the house, Patrice did not bother to listen to Mrs. Clark point out things in the rooms. Frequently she looked out the window or started bickering with one of the girls in the group. Mrs. Clark warned her once if she tussled with Louise once more, she would have to wait for the group outside.

On our return to Queensway and the staff room, Mrs. Clark mentioned her day with Patrice and asked her teacher if Patrice was like that all the time, to which the teacher answered yes. I talked to Mrs. Smith about Patrice, and she told me that Patrice likes to be the center of attention and will be very vindictive towards anyone else who receives it. Patrice would almost do anything so that she could get the attention. Mrs. Smith said she talked to the parents, and the parents had told her that Patrice had been very demanding even as a baby. Mrs. Smith just wondered if they had not in reality spoiled her. Mrs. Smith said that Patrice did all her work in the classroom, but she was always demanding something; as soon as she got it, she would want something else. Mrs. Smith said once she gave in it was very hard to stop Patrice's demands.

## Case-study Analysis

In these three case studies, it must be emphasized again that these children have not been diagnosed as maladjusted, nor is their behavior necessarily maladjusted, but their behaviors deviate from the behaviors of their peers. There can be much done to alter the behaviors of these children; some of which can be affected by their peers. This also applies to maladjusted children in the ordinary school.

## Integration of the Maladjusted Child Into the School

Before discussing how the behavior of maladjusted children can be affected by the school, a brief review of the provisions for the education of the maladjusted will be presented. In 1944 an Education Act was passed that brought the education of handicapped children within the auspices of the local educational authority. This act stated that the local educational authority had the duty to provide for any people who suffered from any disabilities of mind or body in special schools or otherwise (Gulliford 1971: 2). In 1945 maladjustment was added to the list of handicaps by the Handicapped Pupils' and School Health Service Regulation; thereby, making the Education Act of 1944 apply to maladjusted children also. In 1955 the Underwood Committee on Maladjusted Children made a recommendation that maladjusted pupils be taught in the ordinary school if possible.

Since then, there has been more emphasis placed on leaving maladjusted children in the ordinary school if they are not suffering educationally. This approach to the education of the maladjusted is extremely relevant in view of the 12,000 places in special day and boarding schools, special classes and independent schools, and given that the percentages given earlier in the paper are actually reflecting the number of maladjusted children present in Great Britain. There are not enough places in these classes and schools to accommodate all these children, therefore, the oridnary school plays an increasingly more important role in the education of the maladjusted (Gulliford 1975: 14). Also recently behavioral treatment has been extending into the school since it is best to treat maladjustment or maladjusted behavior where and when they occur. The infants' school plays such an important role since it is generally the first public institution that children encounter outside of their families, and it also has the role of developing the mental, physical, emotional and social potentials of the children entrusted into their care. Since the pupils are unsorted, this includes the welfare of the maladjusted child.

In view of the fact that maladjusted children, aside from those who have very serious problems, are being left in infants' schools to give them a chance "to benefit from stimuli offered by an Infants' school" (Webb 1967: 178), There is much to be said about the good and bad points about informal infants' school education and its potential effect on problem children. Perhaps one of the positive aspects of informal education is the opportunity to interact freely with the other children in the class. On this matter, more will be said later. Other good points of informal infants' school education includes the flexibility of the structure which involves various types of activities and the freedom of every child to do what they want to do within certain limits (i.e., provided they have done some academic work, and they are not doing the thing they like exclusively). The flexibility of the structure and the wide range of activities and materials available offer the child opportunity to experiment. For most children, the wide range of materials and activities on hand are enough to help the child adjust to school since most children are intrinsically curious. For even a maladjusted child or a child with some maladjusted tendencies, the equipment available may be able to draw their interests. With the flexibility of the structure in the infants' school, every child can learn at their own speed without worry about how fast they are doing it, just as long as they do it well. Often in the regular classroom, poor performance and failure in academic work can be a cause of maladjustment. Also the opportunity to be able to do the things the child wants to do gives the child the opportunity to control his or her environment to a certain extent. In giving children, especially ones who have tendencies toward maladjustment, the opportunity to have some control over what they are doing this may help them learn to adjust themselves to school.

Like most things in life, there are some bad points to informal education, at least at the infants' stage. Although many people exclaim that in the formal schools the teacher does not have much time to spend on each child (Clegg and Megson 1968: 101), it is also true of informal education in the infants' class, especially when the classes are large. As Mrs. Johnson has told me on several occasions, it is very hard to spend individual time with each pupil when the class is large. Generally, it is the more aggressive or self-assured children who will seek the teacher's help while the quiet child falls into the background. It is also hard to deal individually with each child when there is a large class and the teacher is only given a short time to interact with the children. (That is, on a 9:00 to 3:30 regular school day, two and a half hours are spent on lunch or playtime. This excludes a lot of time that the teacher could potentially deal with the children individually.) Another problem with the informal system is that once children are done with the work they have been assigned, they are free to play, make use of the materials or do work on another subject on their own, but if they are not interested in doing anything, then children are wasting a lot of precious time doing nothing. This would be especially harmful to a child who is new in school, does not know how to read, write or do numbers, does not want to play, and does not know any of the other children. This can cause problems if the class is so large that the teacher cannot see this going on.

As mentioned earlier, peer relationships can be extremely relevant in the overall adjustment of a child in school. Besides just learning about academic subjects, the child also must learn about social relationships with other people. Peers have a tremendous influence on a child since they can affect change in another child through their attitudes and interactions. Membership in a group is a means to bring "the release of tension and the comfort of recognized participation in common purposes...these therapeutic effects of group memberships are discernable in the symbolism of behavioral interaction" (Fleming 1955: 43). The therapeutic effects of group membership can perhaps be shown in Alice's case. The willingness of older girls in making it a point to "take care of Alice," in showing her how to play with jigsaw puzzles, and in guiding her had some effect on Alice's social development in the school. Whereas, Alice hardly participated in any activity on her own or interacted with other children during the first few days of my observation of her, Alice started coming out of her reserved self by the end of my observations at Queensway to the point where the teacher would remark with surprise, "My, Alice is lively today."

On the other hand, lack of peer relationships can have a detrimental effect as in the case of Anna. Anna is being rejected by the other members of her class. Perhaps, they reject her because of her slovenly and unhygenic appearance. Personal appearance and the economic background of the family can have a lot of influence on the formation of relationships and acceptance by the peer group (Rutter 1975: 212), especially when the other children are better dressed or from a higher socioeconomic strata. Rejection by one's peers can have a disastrous effect on the child's social and emotional development. There appears to be some evidence that rejected or socially isolated children "are considerably more likely than other children to have psychiatric problems" (Rutter 1975: 213), and "that failure in personal relationships is the most important factor in maladjustment" (Department of Education and Science 1955: 30). Children who are rejected may be considered "high risk".

The teacher also plays a vital role in the adjustment of a child in the school. Like the child's peers, the teacher can have an effect on a child's emotional and social development. "The chief observable instruments of modification used...by adults...are words and gestures directed to the weakening or the intensifying of the picture which each pupil is building as to his own relative role and status and the function he can perform..." (Fleming 1955: 42). The teacher can affect change in the peer groups' perception of the maladjusted child or the rejected child by praising such children to increase their popularity. The teacher has the responsibility of integrating the class to a cohesive whole by both influencing each child and by influencing the children as a group. One way to insure interactions is to encourage children to help each other, especially those younger.

Teachers also have the role of primary identification of children with problems since they are forced to observe the interaction of the children in their classes five times a week (MacLean 1966: 67). The teacher can best do this by keeping a fairly updated file for each child of their progress and behavior. This is useful since the teacher will always have a file on a child and can look back to check for a pattern of behavior (Webb 1967: 25). However, despite the fact the teacher has the primary responsibility to report any behavioral or emotional problems to the head, some teachers fear to do so, thinking that to report a case could be admitting to failure or be a negative reflection on the school itself (Pringle 1965: 30, Burbury 1961: 30). There are other teachers who do not recognize the problem as a problem. Sometimes they feel the child will grow out of it (and as in Alice's case, they may be correct to assume so) or they only recognize the problem of maladjustment when it is linked with learning difficulties (Webb 1967: 29, Caspari 1976: 73). This is a problem that cannot be easily answered since we do not know the best treatment for maladjustment yet. There are services like the Child Guidance Clinics or the School Psychological teams who can provide assistance but the teachers must learn that to ask for advice and help with a troublesome child is not a negative reflection upon her teaching. These two services exist to provide help when needed and the teachers are the ones to know when that need is great since they have to work with a problem child 30 hours a week.

## Conclusion and Recommendations

The controversy continues to rage whether the maladjusted child should be educated in the ordinary school or not. It is relevant to suggest that perhaps not all maladjusted children would do well in the ordinary school. As in the case of children who have been rejected by their peers, it may be counterproductive to their social and emotional development to leave them in the infant school. These children probably would do well if they were placed in an ordinary school in which the head, the teachers and staff and the other pupils, are willing to accept them into the school and welcome them. The influence of one person on another would probably change the child who has been rejected, but now finds people who are willing to accept him or her. Peer pressure can also be a tremendous force in shaping the maladjusted child's behavior. The teacher can direct peer pressure to help the child if proper praises are given both to the maladjusted child and to the peer group for accepting the child.

I feel that it is especially important that infants' classes should be kept to a maximum of twenty students per teacher. Any more than that and the teacher has to divide up her time into little slots to accommodate the individual attention each child needs, either in the form of encouragement or direct help with work. In the infants' stage, I feel that those who are five years old need a little more guidance than they are actually given. What do you do when you have a class of over thirty pupils, all at different levels of reading, writing and working on numbers and then comes a group of just-turned five-year-olds who do not know how to do any of these and must stay in class from 9:00 to 3:30. Although I feel that it is very good to let them have some social interchange with other children, I find that I favor an integration of formal and informal education, where the child learns to do some things in a structured form and yet still has the freedom to choose.

I also feel that teachers should have more training in the identification of maladjustment or problems leading to maladjustment. As seen by the Underwood Committee on Maladjusted Children, there is a high porportion of children who may have some tendencies toward maladjustment. Some of these can be prevented I feel by proper handling of the relationship between the teacher and the child and the teacher's ability to help integrate these children through her influence with the class. I would also recommend that teachers be able to gain more information on the causes of maladjustment, and where they can find help without feeling as though they are personally at fault.

## References

Balint, Edna M.
1961 "Causes of maladjustment in the school." Pp. 29-48 in W. Mary Burbury, Edna M. Balint, & Bridget J. Yapp (eds.). An Introduction to Child Guidance. London: MacMillan.

Burbury, W. Mary
1961 "General causes of maladjustment." Pp. 49-66 in W. Mary Burbury, Edna M. Balint & Bridget J. Yapp (eds.). An Introduction to Child Guidance. London: MacMillan.

Burbury, W. Mary
1961 "Types and sources of cases." Pp. 29-48 in W. Mary Burbury, Edna M. Balint & Bridget J. Yapp (eds.). An Introduction to Child Guidance. London: MacMillan.

Caspari, Irene E.
1976 Troublesome Children in Class. London: Routledge & and Kegan Paul.

Clegg, Alan and Barbara Megson
1968 Children in Distress. Hardmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin.

Department of Education and Science
1965 Education of Maladjusted Children. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Department of Education and Science
1955 The Report of the Committee on Maladjusted Children. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Demster, J.J.B.
1965 "The role of education II - Administration and practice." In M-L. Kellman Pringle (ed.). Investment in Children. London: Longmans, Green.

Fleming, C.M.
1955 "The child within the group: The bearings of field theory and sociometry on children's classroom behavior." Pp. 24-45 in University of London Institute of Education. The Bearings of Recent Advances in Psychology on Educational Problems. London: Evans Brothers.

Gulliford, Richard
1975 National Children's Bureau Helping the Handicapped Child. Windsor, Berkshire: NAER Publishing.

Gulliford, Richard
1971 Special Educational Needs. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Holden, W.M.
1965 "The ethic of child guidance: Can child psychiatry be justified." Pp: 12-15 in Report of the 21st Child Guidance Inter-Clinic Conference, 1965. Child Guidance: Function and Social Role. London: National Association for Mental Health.

MacLean, Isabella C.
1966 Child Guidance and the School. London: Methuen.

Morgan, Margaret R.
1975 "Social aspects of integration." Pp. 1-9 in James Loring and Graham Burns (eds.). Integration of Handicapped Children in Society. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Morris, Ben
1955 "Mental health in the classroom: The teacher's personality and problems of children's adjustment." Pp. 46-111 in University of London Institute of Education. The Bearings Of Recent Advances in Psychology on Educational Problems. London: Evans Brothers.

The Open University and Educational Studies
1976 Problems of Adjustment and Learning. Milton Keynes: The Open University Press.

Parfit, Jessie
1971 National Children's Bureau Spotlight on Physical and Mental Assessment. London: National Children's Bureau.

Pringle, J.L. Kellmer
1965 "The challenge of preventing: I-Positive child care and constructive education." In M.L. Kellmer Pringle (ed.) Investment in Children. London: Longmans, Green.

Rutter, Michael
1975 Helping Troubled Children. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin.

Stott, D.H.
1966 Studies of Troublesome Children. London: Tavistock.

Thomas, D.N.
1975 "The teacher and the handicapped child." Pp. 134-142 in James Loring and Graham Burns (eds.). Integration of Handicapped Children in Society. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Webb, Lesley
1967 Children with Special Needs in the Infants' School. Glasgow: Collins Fontana.

Weber, Lillian
1971 The English Infant School and Informal Education. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Weiks, Thomas J.
1971 Children in Need of Special Care. London: Souvenir Press.

Whitbread, Nanette
1972 The Evolution of the Nursery-Infant School. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Wilson, John
1975 "Integration of the maladjusted." Pp. 80-86 in James Loring and Graham Burns (eds.). Integration of Handicapped Children in Society. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Yapp, Bridget J.
1961 "Causes of maladjustment in the home." Pp. 67-89 in W. Mary Burbury, Edna M. Balint and Bridget J. Yapp. An Introduction to Child Guidance. London: MacMillan.

# "Spare the Rod, Spoil the Child" or "Toss the Cane, Trust the Child"

by
Randi Robinson

"Where discipline is good it is because both staff and children are deeply preoccupied and happy in their work and because their work has meaning to them" (Turner 1973). The progressive movement in England has imposed more emphasis on the school curriculum to fulfill each individual child. "The teachers role in informal education could be summed up as implementing and opening up a child's purpose" (Weber 1971: 109). This new philosophy is a contrast to the traditional view of school curriculum (Watts 1973: 14):

> traditionally, curriculum aims have been centered around the transference, from the teacher to the pupil, of an accepted body of knowledge and an accepted set of values. Freire (1972) has aptly called this the "banking" concept of education, the teacher making the "deposits."

The informal classroom reflects this new attitude toward educating children which is to motivate children to learn by adjusting the curriculum to their personal needs.

This new curriculum has affected the discipline in schools. "When the curriculum capitalizes on children's interests, when the organization provides informal access to other children and materials, when the teacher's manner invites approach through acceptance, the number of discipline problems decreases... Such conditions may actually promote greater discipline" (Fisher 1972: 112).

Some argue that the informal classroom promotes more discipline problems because less total order of the entire class is required (Bennett 1976: 6):

> the so-called National Campaign for Discipline in schools claimed recently that progressive education has overemphasized child centredness, and that sentimental egalitarianism has made standards of individual achievement and behavior irrelevant, "children have become less ready to do what they are told. A few rowdy children in class infect the others, bullies emerge to fill the authority vacuum, and violence, vandalism, and arson increase."

The same author points out that when less emphasis is placed on maintaining order in the classroom, "the teacher's traditional authority is being threatened by the move towards informal practices" (Bennett 1976: 60). Informal classroom teachers are aware that the informal environment could cause more discipline problems, "due to more social interaction and more classroom movement" (Bennett 1976: 142-143). In an informal classroom the noise level is higher, there is more flexibility allowed in movement. But this would only cause disruption in a traditional classroom where all attention is focused on one thing, and not the informal classroom that requires this type of environment because of the individual learning going on.

"Clearly the noise of environment activity where a pinpoint focus from all was not being sought was less bothersome than the noise can be from a view, where total attention is demanded" (Weber 1971: 80). When children are working at their own pace and total attention of every child on one thing is not being sought, movement and interaction are not as severe a problem; rather, they facilitate the learning (Weber 1971: 52):

> The tensions often created when the class is taught seem to be absent. No doubt such common irritating features as inattention and reproof by the teacher for failure to understand are more likely to occur when a teacher is trying to keep the work of a class together. Teachers when questioned on this point, confirmed that the children were more relaxed, the teachers also were more relaxed, but certainly no less busy.

It is important not to confuse a more relaxed environment with one where little learning is taking place and one lacking in discipline (Weber 1971: 137):

> English children present fewer discipline problems in these schools organized for informal education. Just as it was not a question of different teachers and a context that supported this kind of function, so it was not, it seemed to me, a question of different children, but a context that supported the children's involvement in learning. This context is what I have observed as informal education.

There are various explanations for fewer discipline problems in the informal classroom, one reason could be that "aggression is passed off as a momentary thing" (Weber 1971: 41). This can be taken further to say that when children do not have to sit as formally in seats then there is less of a necessity for aggression (Weber 1971: 136). Some say it is the English nature that is just less aggressive (Fisher 1972: 25). Others give the explanation that when one child is disruptive it is less of a problem because it does not disrupt others who are working on their own (Weber 1971: 86). Greater teacher/student mutual respect also leads to a better disciplined environment (Fisher 1972: 71). Another point is that the communal environment of the school allows different teachers to work together to maintain discipline, requires older children to look after younger children, and teaches peers to discipline each other (Fisher 1972: 112-113).

The Plowden Report states, "the child has a nature that will develop in the appropriate environment" (Fisher 1972: 37). The informal classroom develops this nature and this ultimately results in the child learning self discipline. "Self-discipline and self-direction are not inborn characteristics but are the product of extensive learning opportunities" (Fisher 1972: 58). When there is respect for a child's potential, the development of self-discipline and independence is encouraged (Fisher 1972: 216). "Formal teachers for the most part concede that informal methods are likely to encourage responsibility and self-discipline and to teach pupils to think for themselves" (Bennett 1976: 151).

## Discipline and Reinforcement Techniques

An investigation of discipline techniques and reinforcement techniques in an infant and junior school revealed that various characteristics of the school maintain the disciplined environment and teach self-discipline. Contrasting junior and infant classes, discipline and reinforcement techniques are altered because the children are maturing and will be advancing to secondary school.

The effect of different discipline and reinforcement techniques for maintaining social control is a controversial issue. "Unless there is some unseen virtue in ignorance, our growing understanding of human behavior will make it all more feasible to design a world adequate to the needs of man" (Skinner in McGinnies 1971: 468).

> There is ground, however for thinking these allied sicknesses of the human spirit -- the urge to dominate and the urge to submit to domination -- are closely related to the way people were taught and trained as children. To process human beings so that they mechanically obey order, and use their skill, without thought to what they are doing, is to pave the way for tyranny in society as a whole (Macey and Kitwood 1977: 14-15).

People are questioning authoritarian control and informal schools are one way of providing more freedom for individuals to explore their own interests. However, even if schools are not as authoritarian, there is still a degree of control.

> Traditionally, schools have been authoritarian institutions where children were expected to perform tasks, without questions, the motivating factor being fear of the consequences of not doing so. Children today are more self reliant and independent, and do not accept authority as readily... However, a school is a community which, in order to fulfill its function, must establish and abide by a common code of accepted behavior. Although authoritarianism has declined, and initiative and individuality have blossomed, there is still an underlying degree of authority in schools. In the first place, of course, children are not free to decide whether or not they should attend. Their parents are obliged by law to see that they do, and the law can be brought into action if absence is persistent and unjustified. Again children are not free to decide in general terms, what they should learn. This decision is taken for them by local education authorities and head teachers (Geddes 1973: 34).

We have reached the first step by coming to the realization of the power of control. The next step is to examine the way control is operationalized. Ultimately, social control could be exercised to fulfill the needs of all people.

Junior schools have been influenced by the progressive movement's changes that were begun in the infant school. The Plowden Report confirms an "evolution of infant education in the junior school" (Weber 1971: 92-93). One reason for the transition in the junior school is the elimination of the eleven plus exam. These exams were standardized tests taken at the end of junior school with their scores dictating whether the student could go on to grammar school. When teachers no longer have to prepare students for this exam, they can afford to place more emphasis on each individual child's needs. "Educators abroad have heard a great deal about English nursery and infant schools, but as the climate of freedom has been moving upward into the older age range and previous restraints have been lifted, even more intriguing possibilities are opening up" (Fisher 1972: 127).

Even though secondary schools have been changed to comprehensive schools, where all children receive an education until age 16, the child must still face A and O level examinations at the end of secondary education. The scores on these dictate the child's further educational opportunities. Though the junior schools have abolished these limits, the secondary schools still have the job of preparing all students to take these exams. Therefore, secondary school is quite a contrast to the freedom of infant school. This paper does not include a study of the secondary school. But, it is important to keep in mind because in the future one type of system will create a change in the other. "Secondary teachers complain more about discipline than do infant teachers. This can partly be attributed to the increasing distance of adolescent against adult imposed social controls, but part of it must spring from differences in curriculum, classroom organization, and teacher learner relationships" (Fisher 1972: 112). It seems frustrating that the individuality provided by infant and junior schools is stifled by the structure of the secondary schools. Some demand change in the secondary school. Others demand change in the junior and infant school. Some believe that once a child learns self-discipline in earlier years, he is ready for a structured environment. These are current debates in the educational movement (Turner 1973).

## Background of the Debate Concerning Discipline and Reinforcement Techniques

> The actual process of socialization involves also the maintenance of institutional behavior through a system of discipline and order. This has in fact a dual function. On the one hand, as will be seen in the discussion of social cohesion and control, it is a necessary prerequisite of the school as an institution.

> On the other, it presents a pattern of organizational behavior which is intended to function as a prototype for the more elaborate patterns which will be encountered at the secondary stage and afterwards. Here it is important to appreciate that the actual pattern of discipline and order in a particular school, and the consistent direction and effectiveness of its socializing process, is the result of interaction between the social factors influencing the school's pupils, and the values held by its teachers, the latter being themselves related to their basic beliefs. Viewed from the standpoint of the three traditions, it seems probable that the elementary emphasis would be an enforced conformity to minimal rules and standards, and the preparatory emphasis, on the rapid absorption of attitudes and habits considered appropriate to selective secondary schools. While the developmental approach would be more concerned with adjusting the process of socialization to the children's growing for social and moral behavior and with children's experience of a wide range of social rules (Fisher 1972: 86).

Socialization depends on social relationships as a mechanism for order in society (Scott 1971: 19). In order to live in a stable society, "internal conflicts must be regulated by group standards" (Scott 1971: 103). People are not just accepting dogmatic control any longer, instead they are questioning their own individual rights and needs, "control is a mutual affair" (Scott 1971).

Today, more emphasis is being placed on allowing individuals to play a more active role in organizing their own forms of social control. Research shows that people have become aware that "socialization cannot conflict with basic biological organization. Any organized social system exists as a part of the biological and physical world and is both influenced and limited by it " (Scott 1971: 8). Researchers have begun to study what the biological limits are to learning one's own potential and testing these limits by demanding more individualism within the social order.

Education is a vivid example of this new philosophy, beginning with a trust in each individual's potential. The changing philosophy of education reflects the modern changes in social control. No longer are people accepting that education can dictate and indoctrinate. Instead education is believed to be valuable in developing personalities with the belief that self-disciplined individuals will be produced (Reynard 1973: 120).

Presently there is a controversy in education between the "free movement" and the traditional methods. "Should we move further in the direction of Neil's Summerhill, allowing near total freedom to youngsters to find their own philosophy of behavior and beliefs or would it be wise to seek to preserve some or all of the traditional standards as an essential bullwork against the risks of social disruption?" (Mackenzie 1973).

Traditionalists argue that a rise in problems in discipline occurs because of giving the students too much freedom (Cocking 1973: 62-63). They point out that society is producing its own pressures which makes it difficult to keep order in school, and "authority is under attack" (Cocking 1973: 62-73).

On the other hand, progressive educators place more emphasis on the child's capacity for expressiveness.

> In our schools we have the fittest generation of children we have ever had in our history. With this fitness has grown a sturdy independence and an equal indifference to sticks and carrots. They need our support and help and are not allowed to express their appreciation of it. But, if instead of supporting them we try to discipline, we will be in trouble (Mackenzie 1973: 75).

Progressives call out for change.

> It is more difficult for the teacher in the classroom. He has a curriculum to get through. The weariness and dullness of the curriculum is far more of a strain on pupils and teachers than parents think. A century from now people will read the examination questions with an incredulous smile and wonder why we teachers put up with the nonesense for so long... Some day psychologists will discover what compulsive reflex caused these classroom confrontations between eager youth and conscientious maturity. The children had so much they needed to learn, the teachers had so much to give. The transaction could have taken place in an atmosphere of warmth and goodwill and cooperation. But most of it was gratuitiously dissipated as if by the deliberate intervention of some malevolent and destructive power inducing ill-will on both sides (Mackenzie 1973: 78-79).

My point is that the educational revolution is occuring at the present time. Slowly, the changes are being made, first in the infant schools, and then the junior schools reflecting the elimination of the eleven plus exam. Thus, it is seen that the educational changes are constantly threatened by those who favor relapsing back into traditional methods.

A major distinction has been made between order and discipline. Order is seen as "acquiescence to rules" while discipline is defined as "social adjustment" and "achievement of integrated personal learning" (Brooks 1973: 24-32). Writers argue that discipline cannot be divided "into something discrete and detached from learning, a prerequisite to study, rather than something subtly interfused with it and taking its color from it, a sort of all weather coat rather than a skin..." (Watts 1973: 13). The means of achieving this is through changes in curriculum so that discipline is not distinguished from other other parts of the curriculum. Where children are more interested, their individual needs are fulfilled, while at the same time they learn to respect others in the social environment who are also experiencing personal relations (Wright 1973: 27). Schools should not just control students, but provide a place for them to find "inner and outer worlds of experience" (Wright 1973: 27).

A major question that must be asked is why the change? Authors have pointed out that people are no longer accepting the view that education "inhibits questions and maintains the regime" (Mackenzie 1973: 80). There is plenty of evidence for this dissatisfaction.

> Negatively too, there has been much grounds for dissatisfaction with what "traditional" education has achieved for the population as a whole. For example, the "teddy boys" of the 50's and the "mods and rockers" of the 60's emerge from schools which had signally failed to help them. The existence of two million or so subliterate adults in Great Britain are not the consequence of progressive education. The long history of strife between different sectors of the community, which has a considerable relevance to the crisis we now face in industry and economy, is the story of those who have prospered, and those who have suffered, under the old style educational system (Macey and Kitwood 1977: 14).

The date shows that these changes have only just begun to take place. Schools were opened for everyone only a century ago. Before, education was only geared to the middle and upper classes. The change was brought about by advances in industrialization, the working class's right to vote, and trade union growth. Today, even though A and O level exams continue the educating of people "for their station in life," more people are being educated than ever before and a broader curriculum is being developed (Macey and Kitwood 1977: 16-17). The change is being made from "to the many education for drudgery; to the few education for power," to "To all of society -- education for life " (Macey and Kitwood 1977: 16-17).

It is ridiculous to think that by "forcing obedience and conformity on children in school, self-directing and self-controlled adults will result." In order for education to teach children to be independent, education must allow children to have independence in their formative years (Sprinthall 1974: 152-153). It is difficult to come to a balance between the proper amount of freedom and the proper amount of control. Writers point out that obedience is a natural part of a child (Montessori 1969: 260). The question is how far do you allow obedience to go? Self-control is a long term process. During this development the learner needs external controls. Students should only be given the amount of responsibility that they can handle(Hankins 1973: 84-85). "At first a child has to submit their work to an external authority, so to make sure they are on the right path... The child, in fact, once he feels sure of himself, will no longer seek the approval of authority after every step" (Montessori 1969: 275). Another writer points out that a child will become self-disciplined when he realizes that he has choices to make and is responsible for them (Brooks 1973: 28). It is impossible to identify exactly how self-discipline develops. Different theorists have different views. It seems however, that progressive education does not support that total freedom will evolve self-discipline, rather that one must provide structure and external control to help the student learn self-discipline (Montessori 1969: 263). One point that seems to be clear is that self-discipline does begin with interest in one's work (Montessori 1969: 353).

> The basic error is to suppose a person's will must be broken before it can obey, meaning before it can accept and follow another person's directions. Were

> this reasoning to be applied to intellectual education we should have to destroy a person's mind before we could give him any knowledge. But when people have fully developed their own powers of volition and then have freely chosen to follow another person's orders, we have something very different. This kind of obedience is a form of homage, a recognition of superiority, and the teacher who receives it from her children may well feel complimented (Montessori 1969: 256).

The teacher's role is being challenged. She no longer is a complete authoritarian. Instead values such as cooperation, trust, reason, fairness, good manners, patience, kindly understanding and respect are more important (Williams 1974: 71). There is no way around it, the teacher is in an authority position. But what can be adjusted is if she uses this position to facilitate self-discipline on each child's part (Wright 1973: 41). And one way of doing this is through making the relationship a mutual cooperation.

It is necessary therefore, to firstly make sure the imitation of behavior is satisfying to the individual. Next, that mechanisms for internalizing these behaviors are available and are satisfying. "Thus at an earlier stage to acquire the behavior (imitate the role) of others is gratifying, and later to 'take in' those behaviors as one's own role adaption of self-control is rewarding" (Scott 1971: 46-7).

## Research Issues to be Addressed

First, it is important to compare literary definitions of the informal classroom to what I observed actually operating. The infant informal classroom and junior informal classroom need to be compared. The unique characteristics of the junior school need to be identified.

Another issue is how the communal life of the school disciplines the students. Do the students carry what is learned in the individual classroom over to lunch periods, assemblies, and the playground? Do the students show the relationship of how they are taught to control themselves in class and how they interact with peers and others at other times?

What are the expectations of the headmaster and the teachers? How are they conveyed to the students? How do the children perceive them verbally and through their behavior?

The teacher's role in the informal classroom, particularly in disciplining and in reinforcing, is vital to the investigation because of her/his position of power. How do they operate to balance their role as main authority and guide? Teachers' expectations must be defined and how they go about achieving them. Their relationship with the students is vital.

Next, the rules set down by the headmaster for the entire school should be identified. Then, the rules set down by the classroom teacher should be investigated. Rules are the beginning of the social control the school is out to maintain. How do the headmaster and teachers set out to enforce these rules?

What types of discipline and reinforcement techniques are used in the junior schools? Do these differ from infant school to junior school?

## Design of the Study

Fieldwork was conducted in Littlemoor Infant and Junior School in Rawdon, England. I observed Ms. Johnson's junior class (ages ten and eleven) for 3 full days and 4 half days. I observed Ms. Brown's infant class (ages six and one half to seven) for two half days. The focus of my research has been on discipline and reinforcement techniques used by the teachers in the classes. I have observed how the students react to these techniques, other characteristics of the school, such as assembly, lunch, and communal transactions, have also provided information on the discipline of the schools.

I have divided the reinforcement and punishment techniques into categories. Research has provided information on the effects of these techniques.

Informally, I have interviewed various infant and junior teachers to find out their philosophies about discipline and reinforcement and how they implement them. Also, my questions have concerned what they perceive the differences between infant and junior education to be. These teachers include Ms. Johnson and Ms. Ackroyd (teaching classes of 10 and 11 year olds), Mr. Eades, Headmaster, and Ms. Triggs (teaching a class of 10 year olds).

I have also interviewed the headmaster of Berton Park Grammar School, Mr. Smith. The majority of Littlemoor students advance to this school. I have reported his feelings about the adjustment of Littlemoor students into grammar school.

## Characteristics of the Informal Classroom Affecting the Discipline of the School

> One important distinction to make is that the open classroom is not the same as the so-called "free school". The adults who run tree schools impose no conditions, no sanctions and no learning. The pupils are free to come and go, partake in learning activities if they want, or simply sit and wool gather if that be their bent. The open classroom however, is basically a structured learning environment in which students are encouraged to initiate and participate in learning activities (Sprinthall 1974: 445).

On the first day of my field work, Mr. Eades, the headmaster, explained his school's philosophy. He stressed that the school philosophy is "to work to the individual to whatever he is doing." Mr. Eades said that the teaching is not important, but the structure is important. The structure is individual for each person's needs. Mr. Eades believes in "learning by doing," just as we learn to "talk by talking" or we would learn about the school "by doing work in the classroom." Mr. Eades described the writing program. He believes in having children write about the topics and then the teachers fill in the gaps and the children learn by their mistakes.

The infant school's informal method is spreading in the junior schools. Children may plan when to do work assigned to them and also have time in which to follow personal or group interests of their own choice (Weber 1971: 92-93).

I observed Ms. Brown, the infant teacher, organize the class, as follows:

> "On reading and writing I put different cards on the tables. The cards have sentences with missing words that you are to fill in. Read what it says and write what you are to fill in." Mis. Brown made a point to tell students which books to write in. She also told them not to start a new writing book if they ran out of room because they were at the end of the term. Ms. Brown told the children who would be working on activities to choose what they wanted to work on, except there would be no painting because they already cleaned up the paint cabinet for the end of the term. She then told the blues to do activities, yellows numbers, and brown to do Fletchers (math).

Ms. Brown did allow for choice in some activities with some limits. The children were divided into groups by color. Though one entire group was working on math or reading or playing, children were working at their own pace. Also, even though children worked at their own pace, every child progressed through the same sequence of cards in math.

As I recorded my field notes, Ms. Johnson's organization of the class was a little different:

> After lunch, Ms. Johnson said that they would spend the first few minutes of the afternoon doing silent reading. After ten minutes, Ms. Johnson wrote on the blackboard: (1) fractions (2) art (3) topic (birds) (4) spelling. Ms. Johnson said to finish their chapters or paragraphs in their book and get their materials. The children did so very quickly. I asked Ms. Johnson how the groups were divided. She said the groups had both slow and fast kids. This is because the work is individually done anyway and why have the students aware that one group had fast people and one slow. Ms. Johnson sat down with group 2 to describe the project that they would be working on.

The junior class was divided into groups like the infant class. The teacher told them what to work on. The children worked individually, but still progressed through a set sequence. Less time was spent in the junior class explaining what the students were to do. The students got their own materials instead of the teacher placing them on the desks. There were no provisions for play time in the junior class. Ms. Johnson did sit down with the art group to get them started.

"Some degree of direction is applied in all learning. Thus, a school called informal had to have a blend of some direction and a great deal of implementation of a child's purposes. Its aim remains the greatest possible degree of implementation" (Weber 1971: 111). The class was studying birds because a group of boys were watchers. However, the interest of these children influences the curriculum design of the entire class -- not just one child. All the children had to do a booklet on birds. They all had paper stapled inside of construction paper to do this with. The children had to decide which birds to write about and what aspects of the birds.

"It is not unusual to find a junior school that combines all the currently popular innovations in one free flowing arrangement -- vertical grouping, open planned building, team teaching, the integrated day and interpretation of a variety of Nuffield Foundation and Schools Council Projects" (Fisher 1972: 127). In my placement, the school is an infant and junior school. Many of these informal characteristics are found in the junior classes simply because physically they are combined into one school. Mr. Eades explained how the school used to go up to Class 8. There was a selection process so all students did not reach this class. He said it was hard to explain to parents that their children did not make it to class 8 because their abilities were not good enough. So when Mr. Eades came to Littlemoor he changed the system.

"Problems of management are exceedingly complex, especially in outmoded buildings. The learning environment has to be so arranged that the children as well as the teacher have ready access to sources and materials" (Fisher 1972: 70). Littlemoor was built in 1877 and has limited space; therefore, the space is organized carefully to utilize it to its fullest. When one enters a room the first reaction is to be excited by the overflow of artwork, papers, and projects exhibited. Even the hallway is used for exhibiting artwork, it also contains hooks for coats and has sinks, often it is used as a play area for blocks or painting. Ms. Ackroyd, Class 6 teacher explained, "There is room for the furniture or children in the classroom, but not both."

In all of the classes the children sit at tables of six, or six desks are pulled together. This displays the setup for group work, but also the organization of space. Though class six occupies one-half of a temporary classroom (divided by a wall), thirty students can put away paints, or refile math cards, or return books to their individual drawers at the same time. Children have learned a definite routine for these activities and the class is organized so the equipment for each activity is stored in a different place. They wait their turn and when they have things in order they return to their seats. Once, about ten children were not in the classroom. Ms. Johnson joked about how the remaining students were so used to working in tight quarters that they did not know how to spread out and take advantage of the extra space. She had to tell the students to spread out.

In Ms. Johnson's class the children do study specific subjects like math and reading but, also there is a certain degree of integrated learning as I found the first day I entered the classroom.

> I was introduced to Ms. Johnson. She said that her class was working on a special topic for reading, birds. I asked her what they were doing in science and she explained that the subjects were integrated, so they are studying science by studying specific characteristics of birds like feathers repelling water. I was impressed with the bird exhibit at the corner of the room. It was a table set up with blackboards holding pictures and books. The table held a bird's wing, an egg, an experiment to do and other information on birds. It was clearly noticeable that the class was studying birds because almost the entire class was covered with different aspects of birds.

This motivates individual students to learn about topics through various ways that interest them. One problem that can occur is that some aspect of basic skills can be overlooked. Ms. Trigg's class 5 writes a newspaper every week. The children are allowed to pick their own topic to report. They rotate positions on the editorial staff so various students have the experience. Two girls learned a little about an American because they interviewed me for an article, even though the final copy had mistakes like "Amarica" and "Luxmburg."

"Communal life may be defined as wholeness and inner unity in the life of the school" (Weber 1971: 95). The child experiences this communal life from the reception class to class six at Littlemoor. The fixed points are assembly, lunch, and play period. All of these are common to the students from the beginning of their schooling at Littlemoor. Here siblings and friends are allowed to be together. They can sit where they want at lunch and play with whom they like on the playground.

Such freedom was considered vital to the natural flow of communication and to the healthy growth of relationships. The best way this can be shown at Littlemoor is by Mr. Eades' dialogue at an assembly. He was discussing the float the parents and children built for the Benton Park Fair:

> Mr. Eades asked, "Why were we pleased with the children who participated in the Benton Park Fair?" He called on David who said, "Cause we won a prize." Mr. Eades responded, "no. Come on, a little bit deeper thought Andrew?" "Cause they took part." Mr. Eades said, "Yes, good," and he called on another student. This student said, "And they behaved well." Mr. Eades said, "Not exactly what I am looking for. Not the behavior I am looking for. What was written on the float and each child's clothes?" A child answered, "Rawdon Littlemoor." Mr. Eades said, "No need to ask you what this meant. It is your school. One hundred years. Things that take place for Littlemoor, the way we behave, prizes, don't matter, the fact that we took part, fact that we are able to do something like that, that your fathers and mothers helped, giving up their time, not being paid, fact teachers helped -- all one big family working for one particular cause. Something we hope is carried on for the next 100 years." Mr. Eades went on, "For some children this goes right over their heads. Our biggest problem is to make it hit home. How do we do it? I don't know. Have to look over this. One way is to make the school clean, tidy, try not to break things, keep out of places told not to, don't play in school yard after school because things are likely to be broken with no adult to supervise. All these things matter because it is Rawdon Littlemoor we are thinking of, not thinking of prizes -- that's what I am trying to say." Mr. Eades read a story. He

> opened it by saying, "We are looking for good examples. We are looking for older boys and girls to help younger. They will see you and follow exactly what you do. Hope you are setting a good example and not a bad example." The story was about Princess Margaret setting an example for her people, who learned from her. Mr. Eades summed up, "Simple story about setting an example. No mean thing to do! Older children set examples."

The junior students at Littlemoor do have other functions different from the infants besides setting good examples for the younger children.

I asked Ms. Johnson if she uses a different type of discipline for the older children since they would be going to grammar school. She briefly explained, "not really". She said the infants were allowed to get by with more things simply because they were younger. She said the older children are expected to behave differently, she said that grammar school was very different, but she made no conscious effort to take special precautions. It was just normal to expect more of the older kids because they were older not because they were going to a different school next year.

One morning I was out on the playground and a group of children came up to me. There were about five girls from class 4 (8 years). I thought it would be a good chance to ask class 4 children how they found junior school compared to infant school. They told me that in infant school they were allowed to play more. In junior school they were given work in math to do. I asked what kind of play they could do in infant school. They said they could play in the doll house. I asked if the teachers in the junior school were strict compared to those in infant school. They said, "No, not really."

I also asked the class Five students the same questions. Their first comment was that the infants got to play more. I asked what kind of play. They told me that the infants got to play with bricks all day, and they got to draw pictures all day. I asked if the juniors had any special activities that are different. They explained that the juniors got to be library monitors and art monitors. I asked if the infants had this. They told me the infants have an infant library that they all go to at once. The library monitors in junior school could go down to the library with just a group of students. The art monitors clean up after art. (It is interesting that these monitors are appointed on a yearly basis instead of monthly or weekly. I think that this is good when many jobs like handing out books at assembly or washing tea cups are available. It gives the children a real sense of full responsibility that they take on for a long period of time.) The children went on to tell me that there is a Benton Park carnival at the grammar school at the end of school. All of the children participate in sports events, booths, and floats. The children pointed out that House Points were awarded to people who win races or games. However, the infants just got sweets for doing well. House Points are only given to the junior school children in academic areas as well. The children told me that in junior school they are "treated like older people and they are more independent."

It is interesting to see the differences the children see. The class six children could verbalize their roles more maturely than the class four children. Also, it is interesting that they define the differences in terms of themselves and not the structure, not "It's alot harder" or "you have to sit and not talk."

The children made the point that it is not that the junior teachers are more strict, but the activities they do are more difficult because they are older.

"Younger children learn through play, but older children enjoy activities which closely approximate adult functions" (Fisher 1972: 140). The juniors at Littlemoor can participate in a School Bank. Each week they bring ten pence to add to their savings and at the end of the year, they get back their savings. The bank is operated by class 6 children.

The Junior classes do not have certain privileges after they advance from infant school like a milk break or recess in the afternoon. Once I observed Ms. Johnson tell them to work through break and put down their pencils for a few minutes if necessary and the children did not object.

The juniors have certain responsibilities like reading to the infants on rainy days, washing tea cups, and handing out hymn books at assembly. The juniors have separate assemblies from the infants on four out of the five days. There are special junior hymn books used during the separate assemblies.

Upon entering junior school, the children begin getting House Points. All the junior children are divided into four Houses 1) Bronte (literature), 2) Cook (adventures), 3) Priestly (scientist), 4) Verity (sports). A child earns points for doing well in academics, sports, or conduct. The points are tallied up at the end of the week for each House and read at assembly. Each house picks two captains from class six for their house. At the end of the year, the House with the most points wins a cup. Brothers and sisters are automatically in the same house. Teachers also can take away House Points, Ms. Triggs, class 5 teacher said, "I am quite stingy with House Points so when the children get them, the children value them."

Some researchers say that token systems that administer rewards for achievement are valuable to motivate children (Hankins 1973: 93). On the other hand some say that it "increases competition and cuts down the natural desire to learn" (Williams 1974: 21). It seems that the way in which the token system is administered can make a difference. Since the point system at Littlemoor is communal, and not class by class or child by child, the competition is minimized.

Ms. Johnson explained to me that she gives house points on effort. She said that since students are at different levels you cannot compare them. "You have to evaluate the child's own effort." By awarding points on effort, each child has equal opportunity to receive points if they try.

The older children receive special privileges like being allowed to play on the front playground. There was a special quartet concert held for them. Every year the oldest children have a Christmas sit-down dinner. This year the students graduating got to go to see the Queen.

"Self-discipline and self-direction are not inborn characteristics but are the product of extensive learning opportunities" (Fisher 1972: 58). As pointed out earlier, Ms. Johnson expected the children to behave more maturely because they have been introduced to working independently in infant school. The older children are aware that they are supposed to be more "independent." In Ms. Johnson's class there is less fidgeting, a lower noise level, and fewer children running to the teacher to help them, than in the infant classroom, which displays more concentration. In Ms. Brown's class I noticed there was constantly a line of at least seven children waiting to speak with her. The children talked and touched each other more in line.

Ms. Brown used statements like, "Everyone sit up straight," "close your lips and books", "David you collect the scissors", "You have five minutes so use your time wisely."

Ms. Johnson had to make this type of statement less and when she did they were precise because the students knew exactly what to do, "I want everything away", "Listen please", "That is enough". It is interesting to see that in the infant room children were told to collect materials, but in the junior class children get up and put away their own materials.

One morning I observed Ms. Johnson teach an infant classroom.

> Ms. Johnson's voice was a little different. She talked slow, more precise, and used a bit less of an adult tone as in the junior class. The directions she gave them were much more detailed than the ones she gave her own class. "When you have written the date on your book, July 14th, write the title, odd and even. Don't squash it next to work just done. I like to see work nicely spaced." It was quite evident that Ms. Johnson did quite a bit more talking and guiding than in her normal class. Mainly, she had to tell the children to be quiet a lot more often.

In the staff room one day, Mr. Dickson, the class 3 teacher, was saying his class "gets the best of both worlds." He was referring to the fact that his infant class does activities with the infants and also the juniors since they are right in the middle of the transition. This points out one way in which the infants are introduced gradually to the junior school.

"Older children develop a sense of responsibility by helping younger children who in turn are provided with models with whom they can identify" (Fisher 1972: 141). The class 6 children are servers at each table in the cafeteria and divide the food for the younger children. One day as we were walking back from tea, I recorded:

> Ms. Johnson firmly told some children to wait outside while teachers went through the doorway. She called some children back to wait for us to go through the door. As we were going through the second door Helen and Heather from class 6 came rushing through the door. All Ms. Johnson said was, "I was trying to set an example for the younger children and here you come."

The key to a great deal of the informal method seems to be the expectations that are relayed to the students. Rules are not the only way relaying the expectations. They are also conveyed verbally and through the responsibilities given to the children.

In Kohlberg's studies on moral development, he has defined six stages of moral growth. He believes the stages are developmental; a child proceeds from one to the next in a definite sequence. The development does depend on interaction with adults and other children. Students cannot just memorize statements to show moral development, instead an internalization process goes along with this development. Evidence shows that teachers can affect the level of students' moral maturity. The data shows that students before school age are limited because of their developmental stage so it is impossible for them to discuss moral dilemmas properly. At elementary age it is possible to discuss the idea of "choosing from alternatives in everyday situations." Also, at this age, students can begin to seek reasons behind actions. Here discussion is helpful. At nine to twelve, children are "maximally ready to discuss and examine questions of moral judgment, decisions concerning the value of life versus property, and others." The teacher should be patient and not impose ideas and if possible, through her guidance, facilitate moral development (Sprinthall 1974: 180-

84). Other researchers have shown that "formal character instruction has no positive effect" (Sprinthall 1974: 160). Though there is a certain amount of discussion at the assemblies, it is limited because of the number of students. I did not observe any further moral discussions in the classrooms. Perhaps additional discussion would add to the assembly discussions.

Assemblies are a main source in relating expectations to the student through the discussion of other school activities. In the separate infant assembly the expectations were displayed very simplistically along with recognizing children who had a birthday soon. At one assembly, the children discussed the story of Moses by describing pictures one of the classes had drawn. Ms. Shingler (reception teacher) ended the assembly by explaining how Moses had tried very hard to help the Israelites. She said, "Everyone should try very hard no matter what they are doing".

The junior assemblies took a different level to convey expectations.

> Ms. Ackroyd, Class 6 teacher asked the group to define "perserverance". One child answered, "It means to try harder." Ms. Ackroyd said right. She had a list of children to call up to the front of the assembly, who had shown perserverance in their classes. The students came to the front and sat down beside her. After calling the names, she went through the list again, explaining how each child had perservered. There were nine children in all. Michelle had been called up because she worked hard on her bird booklet. Two other boys were called up because they had worked harder on their writing. "They had not been writing that well," Ms. Ackroyd explained, "but they were trying harder now." Another boy was called up because he had "caught the ball, after trying hard for a long time." A girl was called up because she learned by memory a very long poem. A boy was called up because his handwriting was improving because of his practice.

This assembly showed other students that effort was expected from all and it reinforced self-discipline for those who had put effort forth.

In one of the assemblies for the entire school, Mr. Eades discussed the fourth year's visit to see the Queen. He described all the festivities and then, Mr. Eades ended with pointing out that they were very proud of the Littlemoor children's behavior. He also thanked the third year students for taking care of things while the fourth year students were gone. He pointed out that they would be at the top of the class next year. Many of the expectations are channelled through the value of school identification.

In the classrooms the children get immediate feedback on their work, by having the teachers check sections as they finish and standing by her as she checks them. In Ms. Johnson's class the children had final deadlines on some projects like stories or booklets. This type of discipline showed the children quite openly what was expected.

Children in Ms. Johnson's class were allowed to sit where they wanted at certain times. They also were allowed to work with partners on activities like painting. Children are allowed to move freely around the class and talk to members in Ms. Johnson's class. Often, the six members of a table will engage in a discussion.

"It is recognized that pre-adolescents need time to look within themselves and sort out their thoughts and feelings. Children are seldom accused of daydreaming nor are they jollied into social activity" (Fisher 1973: 135). When Ms. Johnson's class was taking a test, I was surprised to see children put down their pencils in the middle and just stop and think. Ms. Johnson never said anything to them, but allowed them to take a break. Ms. Johnson gave the children chances to fulfill the expectations.

Ms. Johnson would allow the children to decide when to go out for recess, "When you are ready you may go out to play." Ms. Brown let the children get their milk when they were ready. One afternoon Ms. Johnson sent all the children outside to read. She did not supervise them, but they all read and did not bother anyone else.

When Ms. Ackroyd introduced us to the reception class she said, "If you should see them walking around, you should help them." When Mr. Eades left me alone to supervise he said to the children, "You should show Ms. Robinson how well you can work." Mr. Eades often called on children to help him with chores like setting up tables or stacking newspapers.

It is interesting to see how the teachers place the responsibility on the children. Ms. Brown gave a child the choice of asking her for help or not, "Richard, what's the matter? Are you having trouble? Well, are you coping? Or, do you want to come out and ask?" Ms. Johnson told Nigel, who had brought in a note explaining that he had to leave school early to "keep track of the time" because she might forget. Ms. Johnson would give children directions for certain circumstances and expect them to be capable of seeing they are done. For example one day she said, "Ms. Ackroyd is leaving tomorrow so you must give her your money before."

Often, the students are responsible for looking after other students. When Ms. Johnson calls the roll in the morning, the children at each table must tell her if a child is missing from their group. One day she reminded them of this, "Who's table is that? Well, what do you say if she is not there?"

Classes are often left alone without the teacher. If it is a long period of time it is a partial honor system because Mr. Eades or another teacher will check on them. Ms. Johnson showed her trust of the children by asking them, "I have to leave you now. Will you get on with your work?", "Will there be enough work for you to last an hour?" The children in Ms. Johnson's class did not bring in notes from parents that excused them from swimming; their own excuse was accepted.

Children were expected to do more than their share. Once some paints were left out and a child objected to cleaning them. Ms. Johnson said, "Does it matter who's mess it is?" One day Ms. Johnson's class had a few minutes before going to assembly. Ms. Johnson pointed out, "Ms. Trigg's class needs more time to set up," and she gave them something to occupy the time, "let's count to ten."

The daily routine also provides discipline because the children become very familiar with it.

> Usually the establishment of norms is centered around an acceptable routine... Provided this routine is simple and comprehensible, and sustained with sufficient competence and agreement by the staff, then the legal status of primary methods and their wide-spread acceptance in society renders likely that the routine will itself be followed and maintained with the minimum of stress and will in addition satisfy a basic need for security in the child (Blyth 1965: 22).

At Littlemoor, the students in infant and junior school follow a daily routine beginning with assembly at 9:15, breaking for recess at 10:40, eating lunch from 12:00 to 1:00, and leaving school at 3:30. Reception students are introduced to this simply structured routine that they will follow until the end of Class 6, Junior School. Alot of the order in the school is due to the well established routine.

The relationship between student and teacher also leads to the degree of self-discipline a child will learn. The Plowden Report defines the teacher's role, "The teacher must serve as a guide rather than an instructor" (Fisher 1972: 37). The teacher, however, still holds the position of authority in the classroom. "Even if some adults are unwilling to admit it, children at least are aware of the social distance. English children still address teachers as Sir or Miss" (Fisher 1972: 72). All the teachers at Littlemoor are addressed by "Mr.", "Miss", or "Mrs.".

But the authority is used in a different way. All this is not to deny that if one is to have sound discipline in a school it must be based on respect for the dignity of children and their activities must be purposeful and interesting (Geddes 1973: 34). In Ms. Johnson's class it is clear that her respect for the students causes them to respect her. This respect is shown in many ways. I have already mentioned the honor system and the responsibilities she places upon children. The fact that she gives them these responsibilities exemplified her respect.

> There seems to be less fearfulness. The children are not afraid of the leader, and the teacher is not afraid that the children will take advantage of him. There seems to be a greater mutual respect. The teacher is less hesitant about turning responsibility over to children. The teacher works by the side of the children -- with them. He relates to them without placing undue emphasis on his adult status (Fisher 1972: 71).

There are limits to this respect, however, Ms. Johnson did not allow the children to decorate for parents' open night. She did it all while the students finished up work tc put on exhibit. These may be restrictions set down by the headmaster in order to set a good example. Also, it might be a result of lack of time because the children did need to finish up work. But, this seems to be contradictory because why is it necessary to rush children through just for parents' night. This shows the school does have certain restraints in order to live up to expectations of others besides the children. Ms. Johnson did voice the problem as I recorded:

> Ms. Johnson pointed out that it was a shame because she had to put so much time into getting everything organized that she had to neglect her constant observation of the children's work. And the children did take advantage. I noticed alot more today than ever before that students were wasting time and not getting pushed to do more. It seems as though if the children had been allowed to help in the organizing more, they would have felt the obligation to work towards a good exhibit for their parents; therefore, they would have worked better.

One morning Ms. Johnson was giving the class a test. All she said was, "There is going to have to be complete silence," and all the children were completely silent. This is one way of showing their respect. Another day Ms. Johnson knocked over some equipment and two children immediately got up to help her.

I observed how she actively taught respect. Once she was walking on the playground and a ball hit her. She simply took the ball with her back to the classroom. Another instance was when she told a child to run an errand, "Andrew come on, when I tell you to do something. I could have been back by now. Go!" She also admits to the children when she makes mistakes. One example of this was when she was checking folders and asked a child to get the wrong folder. When she realized her mistake, she apologized, smiled, and then asked him to get the right folder.

"It has been argued that the attitudes teachers hold are intimately related to their effectiveness in the classroom situation" (Bennett 1976: 55). Ms. Johnson's attitude is seen consistently through her interactions with the students. She expects them to listen to her so she does not have to repeat her remarks over. Comments like, "Get on with it", "My goodness", are very brief, but are enough to show the children what she expects.

"Other characteristics which have turned out to be consistently related to pupil gain have been teacher warmth and enthusiasm..." (Bennett 1976: 17). Ms. Johnson's sense of humor displays a lot about her attitude. She allows the children to relax and have fun while learning. I observed:

> The children told me that this morning Sarah had been talking at her table about Ms. Johnson. She was saying that Ms. Johnson hardly ever really got mad. Ms. Johnson had overheard this and said very loudly, "I NEVER GET MAD?" This had scared the children at first, but Ms. Johnson was just teasing.

Language is the main means of transmitting control. It is important to use this appropriately to produce the appropriate effects (Scott 1971: 3).

Even with the conversations between students going on in the classroom, Ms. Johnson's words were always heard and immediately followed whether it was a comment to put away work or to stop talking. The definite tone of voice is called "shouting at" and is not necessarily a rise in voice level but is a definite firm tone of voice. Some children told me they would be "shouted at" if they did not do their work. On many occasions, Ms. Johnson uses this tone of voice to discipline a child who has wasted time. She "shouted at" one child, "You must have been sleeping at Shibdon Hall!" when the girl could not describe the activities she had seen on a field trip.

O'Leary and Kaufman (in Hawkins 1973: 96-97) have shown that soft reprimands are more effective in reducing unwanted behavior than loud reprimands. They say that soft reprimands attract less attention, minimize emotional responses to reprimands, and offer a more pleasant alternative to the usual methods of discipline. They also point out that loud reprimands can lead to the cycle of more reprimands and more disruptive behavior. The "shouting at" used by Ms. Johnson does not start a cycle of disruptive behavior -- the children listen. Her method allows everyone in the class to hear. Part of the effect is the embarassment of the situation. Also, Ms. Johnson uses a special style of speaking.

> I have already discussed the nursery school teacher's style of speaking which is based on the use of suggestion. This manner is found, it seems to me, in all levels of society and situations. In their way of saying, "It will do, won't it?" "You do think, don't you?" The English teachers create a setting of agreement that very possibly may account for a low degree of resistance in the classroom. (Weber 1971: 135-6)

Ms. Johnson would make comments like, "Getting a bit noisey, isn't it?" "What does silent reading mean?" She does not expect them to answer, but expects them to understand what she is saying.

Some aspects of learning occur when one person imitates the behavior of another. Studies have shown that if the person is influential or prestigious (like a teacher) the person's behavior will be modified.

> This is termed imitation and does not necessarily consist of a specific set of responses classifiable by conduct or by similarity alone. Rather a behavior is termed imitative if it matches the cues provided by the model's response and is similar to his behavior but is not emitted because of common stimulus antecedents or environmental conformats. When responses of a model are copies in diverse situations this can be generalized imitation. (Hawkins 1973: 160)

Not only is behavior imitated, but research shows that attitudes are imitated in the same ways. This is done by finding a way to have its new attitudes elicited so they can be reinforced, which is difficult to do (Hawkins 1973: 160). The teacher's behavior and attitudes are very important to what the child learns from him/her.

> Formal rules have a limited part at any level in primary schools. Whereas the unwritten norms, which are much more significant, can be deliberately whimisical or obscure in order to encourage a feeling of solidarity among the initiated, and must in any case take account of the pre-existing texture and characteristics of the children's society, explicit rules are devised and known to be devised by adults. They should therefore logically be few, clear and prescriptive. (Blyth 1965: 22)

Ms. Johnson informed me that Littlemoor has "three simple set rules and each one is valid for obvious reasons." The first one states no running in classes because of glass windows and valuable equipment. The second rule instructs everyone to leave the classroom during break to allow fresh air to circulate. The third rule prescribes that a teacher be on duty on the playground during break because of the streets surrounding the school. These rules apply to both infants and juniors. Ms. Johnson also explained her own rules for the class. She wants to keep the class reasonably quiet. She said she was strict at first and then eased up as the year went on. She said that she had to show the children what she expected right from the beginning. She explained that by the time the students reached her they were familiar with the schemes they had to get through. This shows how a teacher achieves one part of socialization by getting the children to internalize the rules.

In summary, this section has explained how the characteristics of the informal classroom affect the discipline of the school. These characteristics are communal environment, space, expectations management, teacher's role, and rules set down by the teacher and school.

## Specific Types of Punishment and Reinforcement Used in the School

Reinforcement is a part of conditioning that can also change behavior. The kinds of reinforcement used, the schedules of the reinforcement and the relativity of the reinforcements are variables that can manipulate the effect of the reinforcement. Positive reinforcement should increase the probability that the response will occur again. Negative reinforcement is used to remove a disapproved behavior (Hawkins 1973: 37).

Some researchers believe that learning usually occurs most rapidly when a continuous schedule of reinforcement is practiced. Reinforcement on fixed intervals is used in classes by evaluations at the end of the term, parent/teacher meetings, and house points (Hawkins 1973: 41). Littlemoor students take home evaluations twice a year for parents. There are parent-teacher interviews once a year and two open parent teacher student nights. I have already explained the house points. In Ms. Johnson's room there is a folder with progress reports on each child. The reports consist of a list of activities and when the child finishes one activity it is checked off with a special color. Each year has a certain color so when you look at the report you know what year the activity was completed in. These reports stay with the children from the beginning of junior school, class 4, to the end of junior school, class 6.

Evaluating the examples from my data, the most striking point is that reinforcement was given very few times for actual academic work. I found House Points covered more of this realm. "The final display or exhibition serves only as a kind of motivating deadline, not as the goal itself, rather it is the work habits that are important" (Fisher 1972: 136). I had trouble checking the children's work quick enough so as not to make children wait in line. Ms. Johnson pointed out to me that she only checked a few examples to make sure the process was correct. In writing, the children's creativity was stressed often at the expense of proper grammar and spelling.

When a teacher walks around the room and stops occasionally to praise a student or even just give him the attention, she/he is administering reinforcement (Hawkins 1973:41). Ms. Johnson and Ms. Brown walk around the room observing and adding in their comments, even as simple as "You should label the jars after you paint them," "That window looks crooked."

As pointed out earlier, reinforcement was given at assemblies. Sometimes classes give assemblies on special topics that they are studying. These exhibitions reinforce the children's work.

I only noticed a few physical exchanges of reinforcement. Ms. Johnson hugged a child once as she looked at her painting and Mr. Eades hugged a child who would be transfering next year and said, "We asked your mom if we could keep you."

I found in the infant room Ms. Brown often reinforced a child's request by playing the game or song he/she requested.

Twice I noticed Ms. Johnson reinforce the entire class. Once she said, "You should be able to do this 100% right." The other time she said, "You can do your best work because it is your last story of the year." These types of statements encourage each child to put forth their best effort. Once her comment was, "It is nice to see some of you working." This reinforces the students who were working, and let those who were not working know they should be. This was using some to exemplify the correct behavior for others.

In art work Ms. Johnson would simply say "good", "nice", or "lovely" or smile occasionally at the children. These are the types of individual reinforcement I would hear.

It seemed to me that in helping a student with math, Ms. Johnson would reinforce the student in a different manner. Her questions would lead to their own discovery of the problem. She would not simply just give them the answer, but reinforce their own knowledge by having them figure it out. For example,

> Darwin had a question about a word problem. The point Ms. Johnson tried to get him to make was that more people were at a carnival on Saturday because it was a nonworking day for most. She refused to explain it right out. Instead she led him through a series of questions to get him to discover the answer. When would you go to the carnival? Why would you go on Saturday? Why would more people go on Saturday?

Often Ms. Johnson would reinforce a student for telling on another student. She would ask someone else who was causing the disruption. Once when she overheard one student tell another to be quiet, she praised this student.

On a few occasions I was used to reinforce the children. A child handed Ms. Johnson her bird booklet and she said to me, "Nice peacock isn't it?" Mr. Eades was working with a child on her handwriting and said to me, "She's coming along beautifully." When a third person is used, the reinforcement is taken even further.

During gym Ms. Johnson would ask individual's to demonstrate a skill on the apparatus. She would make statements like "that was very nice, that was lovely," in front of the whole group. On one occasion I observed:

> She asked David to do a forward roll. She had been helping him on this. She had gotten down on her hands and knees and almost had done one herself to help him. David did not want to do one. Everyone in the class said, "Come on David." And so he tried. They all clapped for him. Ms. Johnson said, "You almost have it!"

Often, Ms. Johnson stopped to reinforce children in another class. The boys were working on an oil rig in Ms. Trigg's class. Ms. Johnson stopped to discuss it with them. Ms. Brown said to a child in the reception class, "Oh, that is a lovely painting."

Once all the students were doing silent reading. One boy started giggling. Ms. Johnson asked from across the room what he was reading and told him to tell the others about the book. After the tests the children take twice a year, Ms. Johnson let them play chess and dominoes.

Ms. Brown reinforced a child who was worried because he was taking a long time, "You're doing alright! Probably taking a long time because it is more difficult than usual."

Ms. Johnson had the students in her class stand up who had participated in a special county-wide Jubilee concert.

> She had started to get out the register, but remembered the concert the night before. "First of all can I say how very well you performed. But also how nice you looked. Margaret you were a picture with the lovely rose. All the audience looked so nice too, because I was in it." (giggles)

> "The red, white, and blue was beautiful. Did you enjoy it? Were you nervous?" She explained where she had seen each child. "Saw Martin and Steve in back, saw Adelle to the side, you three came up to the front with your recorders. Yes, it was excellent. Did you see the seniors? They were good. All you music people should think about joining the orchestra at Benton Park next year. (She pointed at Martin) thinking of you on the xyllaphone -- would be wonderful!"

It is interesting that she placed emphasis on the children's appearance. Also, the way she reinforced each individual was nice.

Research on punishment shows very mixed feelings about its efficacy. Some say if we have to punish we are "diminishing our faith in him to guide himself" (Montessori 1968: 245). Children do make mistakes and it is most important for them to become aware of their errors. The best means for stopping it, is a controversial issue.

Ms. Triggs, class 5 teacher, pointed out that it depends on what techniques teachers discover work for them. I asked if techniques differ for the type of children in the class. She said that the basic techniques do not differ except if the children are a different age. Ms. Johnson said she would never say "good boy" to Steven in class six because at this age it would be more humiliating than praising.

Skinner and Estes (in Hankins 1973: 100) have shown that punishment does affect the rate of responding but not the duration of the response. "Punishment cannot be defended on the grounds that it brings an end to disruptive behavior but if the punishment suppresses a disruptive behavior than perhaps the desired behavior can be learned."

> Studies also show that children cannot learn effectively if they are frightened, angry, bewildered, or bored. Yet these states are too often provided and even ordained in the name of discipline or the exigencies of the syllabus.

> Nor are they likely to learn good manners and respect for others by being shouted at, slapped, or made the butt of a sarcastic remark (Williams 1974: 76).

If the purpose of discipline is to suppress a behavior in order to teach a desired behavior, then the teacher must be careful that the child is not experiencing too much anxiety to be able to learn.

Hoffman reports three types of punishment. The first is "power assertion" where the "adult asserts authoritative and dominant control over the child through physical punishment, fierce verbal aggression, deprivation or material privileges, angry threats." The second is "love withdrawal" which is when the adult decreases his attention by isolating, banishing, not speaking to the child. The last type of punishment is "induction" where the adult reasons with the child to allow him to understand the problem (Wright 1973: 42).

I have combined all of the examples of punishment and divided them similarly to Hoffman. Suprisingly enough, most of the punishments fall in the category of "power assertion." I calculated a total of 56 comments for this category, but also subdivided it as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| embarrassment of one child | Ms. Johnson | 21 |
| | Ms. Brown | 10 |
| stand up child in front of others | Ms. Johnson | 3 |
| | Brown | 1 |
| threats | Ms. Johnson | 5 |
| | Brown | 0 |
| entire group embarrassment | Ms. Johnson | 4 |
| | Brown | 4 |
| denigration | Ms. Johnson | 8 |
| | Brown | 1 |

I observed four accounts of isolation in Ms. Johnson's class and one account of manipulation in her class and Ms. Brown's class. This makes up the "love withdrawal category." I observed eleven examples of "induction". Ms. Johnson has provided eight of the examples and Ms. Brown 3 of the examples.

It is impossible to make comparisons between the type of discipline Ms. Brown used and the types of discipline Ms. Johnson used because I spent the majority of time in Ms. Johnson's class. The only point I would like to make is that Ms. Johnson used more denigration and I feel this had to do with the age of her children. Since the children were older, she expected them to act maturely and this was her way of awakening them.

I will proceed to give examples of each type of discipline technique.

It seems as though Ms. Johnson depends on embarassing the child to affect him/her. Her "shouting at" tone is enough to quiet down the room. Her comments are biting, "Do you know why? Because you are not working!" "Katie have you finished? Then, get on with it!" "Now pardon yourself, Steven!" "Come on you really are too slow with it, Patrick. Get on with it!" "Adrian if you don't know your math tables that is your problem!" "Denise! What are you supposed to do? Where's your book? Well have you X-ray eyes? What are you going to do?" Ms. Johnson's remarks usually were made when students were not doing their work.

Ms. Brown's embarassment tactics were used when the children were doing something a bit more mischievous. "Martin did you set all the glitter in the glue? I just watched you! Will you look please!" "Can't you get on with that. What do you think I will say about that? That's dreadful. Spoil your work. I know we are getting close to the holidays but you have to work hard to the end." "Albert do you think you can raise yourself and help?"

A few times the embarassment made the children cry. Ms. Johnson's reaction was, "Turn off those tears. It won't affect me in the least!" Ms. Brown just said, "Come on, stop crying now and listen." Ms. Brown was much calmer than Ms. Johnson about allowing a child to cry probably because of the ages of the children.

Once I observed Mr. Eades embarass a child in front of the entire assembly. He asked the child a question about what happened the day before. "No you don't know, you weren't listening yesterday. Will someone else tell us?"

Ms. Johnson made a student stand up when he was causing a serious disruption. One student was talking during a test, "Patrick, stand up! I might have guessed. Stand till everyone else is finished." Another instance was when a girl raised her hand jokingly to show a student was absent after Ms. Johnson had asked, "Denise do you have your hand up? Did you have your hand up? Denise, come here why did you raise your hand? Be more careful next time." The final instance is when a boy was bothering another child, "Darwin stand up. It is about time you stopped being silly, young man. Hands out of your pockets. Now sit down and be quiet as you have been asked to be quiet." Ms. Brown also made a child stand up because he was disrupting others, "Allen will you stand up and come here! Shouldn't have to say your name so many times. Once should be enough."

When Ms. Johnson threatened a child, it was because the class was working on something very important or because she was busy and bothered by it. "David, you again? John, are you going to stay in class or not? If I have to look up again at you, there is trouble. I can't stand it any longer." David had been reprimanded earlier that day for not doing work.

Also, there was alot of interruptions that day due to the Jubilee Concert rehersal. Ms. Johnson had asked them at the beginning of the day to cooperate. When the children were making name tags for their visit to see the queen, Ms. Johnson had to say, "Those children who are silly, won't come with us tomorrow." When Ms. Johnson was organizing for parent's night there was confusion, "All this chattering, what is going on? Nobody leaves this room until all their work is done. Really too much noise. Do your Fletcher (math) if you are finished." When the children were on the gym apparatus, Ms. Johnson had to maintain order for safety precautions, "We can put mats away and go up to the room. This is your last chance."

Often, Ms. Johnson makes general demands to the students like, "Did I ask when I came in to put these things up? Put away now!" "What is the matter? What is the matter? What does it mean? Reading not chattering?"

Ms. Johnson often uses denigration. "Don't be silly and try to be sensible." "James you are quite capable of getting along with your work without being silly." Also, Ms. Johnson would call students' names on some occasions, "Oh, you are a pest Steven!" "What is he doing, boring child?" Ms. Triggs once said, "That was a bit Irish of you!"

Throughout these remarks it is interesting to note the number of times questions are asked and answers not expected. "Who's the whistler?" "Who's doing the squealing?" are examples. The teacher is not telling them to stop, but infering it.

Some studies show that "the seeming withdrawal of love can be far more damaging than a few licks on the seat of the pants. This just tells the kid he has to pay the consequences for not following directions" (Hankins, 1973: 100-101). Isolation and manipulation occured when a child was distracting other students. Ms. Triggs had to come into Ms. Johnson's class to quiet them down because they were disturbing her class when they were coming back from gym. One child was sent out of the room when Ms. Johnson found out. When a child has to stand in the hallway, there is always a chance Mr. Eades will find him and he will have to explain the reasons he is out there. Another child was sent out of the room during reading for bothering the others. When Ms. Brown was reading her class a story, she had to pull a child closer to her because he was talking.

I have recorded 11 disciplinary comments that include why the behavior is not appropriate. This type of discipline should be used more because it gives the child reasons why the behavior is not appropriate. A child in Ms. Brown's class pulled out a seat underneath another child. "Do you know that this is the most dangerous trick. He could hurt his back. It could be ruined for the rest of his life. You wouldn't want to do that would you?" Ms. Johnson explained to a child that by sitting where he was sitting, "you are sitting directly in front of another chair, get up!" Explanations were given for small things like sitting correctly, Indian style, during assembly so their legs would not get tired. I could not find any pattern for this type of discipline.

I saw three instances of corporal punishment. Once a child was slapped on the face by Mr. Eades for kicking food on the floor during lunch, even after he was told to stop. Ms. Johnson slapped Darwin on the face because Adrian told on him for pinching him. Ms. Brown slapped a child on the wrist for misbehaving instead of working. The teacher did not have an actual cane though. A controversial issue is the use of corporal punishment in the schools. Britain is the only country in Europe that still uses the cane. Many schools like Benton Park Grammar School still use the cane. Mr. Smith, headmaster at Benton Park, explained that he believed in the cane when it is controlled. He told me that only certain teachers are allowed to use the cane and this is after a good deal of time is spent weighing the decisions. This keeps corporal punishment from being a violent reaction of the teacher. He said caning should be used for a child "who will be taught a lesson from it and who needs to be shocked back into things," not for a child who is used to physical violence because of his background.

Often, the argument for caning that is used is that the teachers fear that the final threat of the cane stops many children and would not be available if corporal punishment is outlawed (Cocking 1973: 64). Anti-caners say that abolition in some schools has "lead to an improvement in relationships and in the stability and discipline of the school " (Vaughan 1977). At a headmasters' meeting where we discussed educational issues, Mr. Waddicore, Head, Queensway Infant and Junior School, said that in his school they have just recently disposed of the cane and even though the threat is not there any longer, this has not caused more disruption in his school. The major point is that "although a beating might render a particular experience memorable, physical pain does not produce the love or knowledge that is the overriding goal of most modern education " (Scott 1971; 27).

One writer told a story where a new teacher threatened to use the cane on the children. The children asked if she had a cane. She had to say no. After recess the children brought branches to the teacher. (Close 1972). The point is not that children want and agree with the use of the cane, but children are sometimes socialized to accept it.

Perhaps emphasis could be placed on something else to make children realize the seriousness of something.

It was noticeable that all the teachers, the headmaster, and the cafeteria workers worked together to maintain discipline. Mr. Eades often checks in on a class to make sure everything is in order. Once a cafeteria worker came in to the staff room to discuss a little girl who was playing sick. One problem that can arise from this is that teachers can be inconsistent. Consistency plays an important role in punishment. Not only the consistency between the people who are disciplining a behavior but also the consistency of punishment for one act. I noticed one incident where Mr. Eades told a group of children to sit in a different place after Ms. Johnson had told them to move. Once Ms. Johnson was so frustrated, her demands were inconsistent, "David, when you finish with that paper give it to me. Have you finished it? Give it to me. You've had time. David you ought to be ashamed of yourself! Go away. I won't bother if you aren't -- sit somewhere entirely different. Come on, here, where I can see you. David move yourself."

Parents are counted on to maintain discipline. I asked some children what happened if they do not do their work. They said they would get "shouted at". Also they said they would get a bad report on Open Day. They said open day was when their parents came to school and looked at their folders. It is held twice a year. When parents are brought into the problem it sometimes helps. However, involving home could cause more problems because the parents enforce more punishment making it more frustrating to the child. Also, not all parents respond to being called into school (Close 1972: 22). Littlemoor's community size allows for a very personable teacher/parent relationship. The situation is used to help the school environment. Ms. Johnson explained that parents have an effect on discipline. She said the parents supported the school alot. It is like a small community. There is interaction because due to the size of Rawdon, they see the teacher alot. Ms. Johnson explained that this year one child was not doing his work. She ran into his mother in the grocery store and asked her to come in for a conference. "The boy is doing better, but still has to be told to work sometimes." One incident showed how Ms. Johnson did not go into the parent's rationale when they had kept a child out of school. Ms. Johnson did not ask why the child had to go to Leeds, she just said the child should be in school. Ms. Brown when calling the roll would stop and ask a question like, "Did the baby come yet?" This closeness adds to the Littlemoor community environment. School is not distinct from home. Children learn the right behavior for both.

It needs to be pointed out that Ms. Johnson or Ms. Brown did not use extra work or detention hall to punish a child. When extra work is made into a punishment it is identified with being undesirable, therefore, it decreases motivation to work (Close 1972:21). Detention can be a problem because many students walk home, or with a sister, brother, or the parents pick them up (Close 1972: 21). On three occasions Ms. Johnson kept students in during recess for not finishing work. Some argue that this discipline is too mild (Close 1972:21). However, the children finished their work and behaved the rest of the afternoon.

Another way of disciplining is by taking away privileges like swimming or school trips or gym period. Although, Ms. Johnson threatens to do this, she told me that the "threat was enough to calm the students down." She also uses a threat of sending the child to the headmaster.

"Unless the offense is in some way related to these activities there is perhaps an element of meanness in denying a youngster participation" (Close 1972: 22).

Research shows that the greater amount of time between the act and the punishment the less effective the punishment is in causing response inhibition. The above types of punishment show clearly that a child was usually punished right after the act.

The best means for assessing how effective the reinforcement and punishment is is to give examples of how the children internalize the rules. I recorded twenty-six examples of self-discipline.

Before school every morning the children in Ms. Johnson's class and Ms. Brown's class read their books. When students have to wait for Ms. Johnson to finish the dinner register they do so quietly without being told. When Ms. Johnson is not at assembly the children proceed back to class on their own.

The children exhibited peer discipline frequently. One infant child asked the other boys, "Why did you hit him on the head with the building block? Who hit him on the head?" Ms. Johnson's students hold the door open for the rest of the class, out of free choice. The children who finished the badges they were making one day, helped the other children finish. On another occasion, I asked the children at my lunch table why they were so quiet. The server, a class 6 student, said, "Because I told them to be quiet." Children listen quietly to their peers during assembly even when it is very difficult to hear.

The teacher supports the child who tells on another child. One child explained to me that sometimes you have to tell on someone "to get back at them."

There are some definite gaps in the self-discipline also. One child had to ask me if she could go on to the next problem on the test and then come back to a problem. Probably, on other tests she had been limited to a sequence to do the problems.

During a test Ms. Johnson placed books in between the students to keep them from copying one another.

One morning a girl was crying because she had gotten her hair out and others were making fun of her.

These examples show how the cooperation learned in the classes does have some limits.

On occasions I was left alone with the students. They did try to test my limits. I realized I had to firmly tell them to work. My most successful comments were: "Since you have been so helpful (emphasizing, positive) in answering all my questions, I will answer a few questions about America before you read." "You are spoiling my impression of how well disciplined you are. I am seeing that this is only true around certain people."

> Ms. Johnson said that it was a shame because at the grammar schools the children sit in desks and listen to the instructor. They do not have individualized learning. Ms. Johnson said that this was because they had to learn a certain amount for exams. She said that self-discipline was not all lost because the children could work independently when it came to projects and homework.

In my interview with Ms. Smith, the headmaster of Benton Park Grammar School. I asked if the Littlemoor students adjusted well. "We are in close contact with Littlemoor. The top class comes over to visit for one day in preparation for the following year. The students transfer over very well." One reason the transition is not difficult from individualized learning to more structured is that Benton Park is tracked according to achievement.

English children are not angels. Even under an environment reflecting calm cultural conditioning, without controls

> they become noisy, careless, slip shod, and they can easily flit about. But they are not left to do so. After a few weeks or, at the most, within a term or two, children are expected to settle in. The settling-in process involves all sorts of constraints. At work are two apparently conflicting emphasis, which often exist side by side. Controls are relatively relaxed, but expectations are structured. (Fisher, 1972)

In an interview, Ms. Triggs said she really believes it stems from how you expect the children to behave. When I asked how you show them what you expect, she said "At the beginning of school I have to talk with them."

In summarizing the data I have concluded that freedom for developing individuality in the students with a certain degree of structure provided by the informal classroom, leads to self-direction and self-discipline. I have discussed different characteristics of the informal classroom in their relation to maintaining discipline in the schools.

It is difficult to evaluate the different techniques for controlling behavior. First, we must realize behavior can be controlled. Second, we must decide if the behavior we are controlling is appropriate. Third, we must realize that research findings are limited in many ways and every teaching situation is different and needs different techniques. Fourth, we must be aware of the capacity for students to understand, choose and, internalize, values and behaviors being discussed modified, and modeled.

Fifth, we must realize the degree the behaviors are being imposed on the children blindly and how many are learned by their own decision.

Future research should be done on how the children make adjustments to the secondary school. Also, it should be done on how even more freedom and less structure teaches the child self-discipline. Further aspects that should be looked at is discipline in schools of different social backgrounds. It would be interesting to study how a teacher changes her discipline techniques from student to student and from the beginning of the day to the end of the day. One more idea for research would be the effect of competition on discipline.

The main point that has been formulated through this report is that people are beginning to acknowledge the fact that no, children will not behave like the children in The Lord Of the Flies by William Golding if left alone. In this story a group of boys are stranded on an island and at the beginning are proper English gentlemen who sing school songs and work together. After a while their manners change drastically. They become savage-like and live a very violent life, killing one child. At the moment when the boys are going to murder another, a British commander of a naval force finds the children and says, "I would have expected more from English children " (Sprinthall 1974).

It is evident that these boys had not internalized the rules and social control, but had been indoctrinated with the values.

Man is placing more emphasis on the potential of children to learn self-discipline in the right environment. Man is studying how to facilitate the learning of self-discipline, As Margaret Mead said, "We must create new models for adults who can teach their children not what to learn, but how to learn and not what they be committed to, but the value of commitment " (Turner 1973).

## References

"Anti-Canery Put Their Case for Swift Abolition"
May 7, 1971 The Times Educational Supplement

Ashton, Patricia, Pat Kneen, Francis Davies and J.B. Holley
1975 The Aims of Primary Education: A Study of Teacher's Opinions. Great Britain: MacMillan.

Bennett, Nevill
1976 Teaching Styles and Pupil Progress. London: Open Books Publishing Limited.

Blyth, W.A.L.
1965 English Primary Education: A Sociological Description. New York: The Humanities Press.

Brooks, Robert
1973 "The Right Relationship." P. 24 in Barry Turner (ed.) Discipline in School. London: Ward Loch Educational.

Close, David
1972 School Discipline. Bambridge, England: Cambridge Aids to Learning Limited.

Cocking, Ron
1973 "School & Society." p. 62 in Barry Turner (ed.) Discipline in School. London: Ward Loch Educational.

Fisher, Robert J.
1972 Learning How to Learn; The English Primary School and American Education. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jonavich, Inc.

Geddes, Norman
1973 Primary School Handbook. London: MacMillan.

Hankins, Norman E.
1973 Psychology For Contemporary Education. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co.

Kitwood, Tom and Maria Macey
1977 Mind That Child. London: Writers & Readers Publishing Cooperative.

McGinnies, Elliot and C. B. Ferster
1971 The Reinforcement of Social Behavior. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.

Mackenzie, R.F.
1973 "Teachers of the World Unite." pp. 73-121 in Barry Turner (ed.) Discipline in School. London: Ward Loch Educational.

Montessori, Maria
1969 The Absorbent Mind. Kalahshetra, India: The Theosophical Publishing House London Ltd.

1969 The Discovery of the Child. Kalahshetra, India: The Theosophical Publishing House London Ltd.

Parke, Ross D.
——— The Role of Punishment in the Socialization Process.

Reynard
1973 "Downtown School." pp. 114-120 in Barry Turner (ed.) Discipline in School. London: Ward Loch Educational.

Scott, John Paul and Sarah F. Scott (eds.)
1971 Social Control & Social Change. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Sprinthall, Richard C. and Norma A. Sprinthall
1974 Educational Psychology: A Developmental Approach. USA World Series Student Edition: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co.

Watts, John
1973 "Tell Me What to Do and I'll Do It." p. 13 in Barry Turner (ed.) Discipline in School. London: Ward Loch Educational.

Williams, Phillip (ed.)
1974 Behavior Problems in School. London: University of London Press Ltd.

Wright, D.
1973 "The Punishment of Children." p. 33 in Barry Turner (ed.) Discipline in School. London: Ward Loch Educational.

# Folklore in an English Infant School

by

Janice Sonkin

The folklore of English schoolchildren is rich and thriving. Through my research on folklore, I have found evidence of an oral history in the classroom which has enabled me to answer these three questions:

1) What is folklore and how is it affected by time, distance and events in history?
2) How does folklore contribute to children's socialization?
3) How is folklore transmitted with respect to language use and the environment or the context of speech?

In discussing my research I will first provide background information of previous research on the subject of folklore. Then I will discuss the basic design of my research and important aspects of my data. Finally, I will summarize my research, noting its implications for a general understanding of the lore and language of children.

## History of the Study of Folklore

Ever since Strutt's Sports and Pastimes of the People of England in 1801, numerous books and articles have been written on the topic of children's play and folklore. Lady Alice B. Gomme wrote a two volume collection Traditional Games of England, Scotland and Ireland in 1898. Although this collection is limited to only one facet of folklore, it discusses the games in fastidious detail, and is still of relevance today. Several other books on folklore were written at the turn of the century by Halliwell, Eckenstein and Northall, and in

1916 Norman Douglas published a collection entitled London Street Games. This was the first work entirely devoted to the study of English children's folklore, and over the years, 78% of the chants have been found to be still in existence (Opie 1977: 6). It is not only significant that the folklore has existed for so many years, but also for so many generations of schoolchildren. Since most schools have a new generation of children every six years, in 120 years, the children's lore would have been passed down at least twenty successive generations (Opie 1977: 28).

> (Children) are respecters, even venerators, of custom; and in their self-contained community their basic lore and language seems scarcely to alter from generation to generation (Opie 1977: 22).

Because of the continuity of folklore, it is possible to conduct research and draw comparisons between the lore of today and of a hundred or more years ago.

The study of children's folklore merits investigation not only because of a general interest in its continuity, but also because it affects a large population.

> The curious lore passing between children aged about 6-14 which today holds in its spell some 7 million inhabitants of this island, continues to be almost unnoticed by the other six-sevenths of the population (Opie 1977: 5).
>
> Traditional lore exists everywhere; as many, if not more traditional games are known to city children as to country children; and children with homes and backgrounds as different from each other as mining community and garden suburb share jokes, rhymes, and songs which are basically identical (Opie 1977: 24).

Folklore is a universal characteristic of children's culture because children are generally fascinated with rhymes.

> Rhymes seem to appeal to a child as something funny and remarkable in itself, there need be neither wit nor reason to support it (Opie 1977: 37).

Because of this fascination, rhymes can be learned quickly and passed on from child to child at a remarkable speed.

> The speed with which a newly made-up rhyme can travel the length and breadth of the country by the schoolchild grapevine seems to be little short of miraculous (Opie 1977: 26).

Once a rhyme has been introduced to a few children, the rhyme may become a symbol of wit or status to other children in the environment. If this happens, the rhyme may be learned quickly by a group of children or even an entire school. In my observations I witnessed an example of this phenomena:

> I asked the children if they knew any rhymes for skipping rope or clapping... One child told me this rhyme:
>
> "When I was one I sucked my thumb
> My father said to me
> Can you do unders, overs, casanovas 1-2-3.
> (Two-buckled my shoe
> Three-grazed my knee...)"
>
> The other children stopped what they were doing to watch. I could tell that they were excited about the rhyme. Several of them imitated the first child and others watched. They practiced the rhyme and taught it to each other so that by the end of the half-hour session, all the children in the group were familiar with the rhyme... Before the day was over I heard the rhyme recited by the oldest and the youngest children on the playground, as well as in the classrooms, in the hall and at the bus stop... A group of girls were singing the newly learned rhyme and teaching it to each other. They did not seem to be tiring of it. I noticed

> some children from the reception class on the other side of the hill who were also doing the rhyme (I could only tell by the motions that accompany the rhyme because I was too far away to hear). Mark and his friend stood next to me and watched the girls with wide eyes. They imitated the girls and giggled. Then Gaynor wanted to join the girls, but she was told to go away. When Gaynor refused to leave, the girls decided that they would move away. As soon as they left, the boys became less inhibited and they sang the song that they were apparently fascinated with. The popularity of this rhyme is an example of how quickly folklore can be learned.

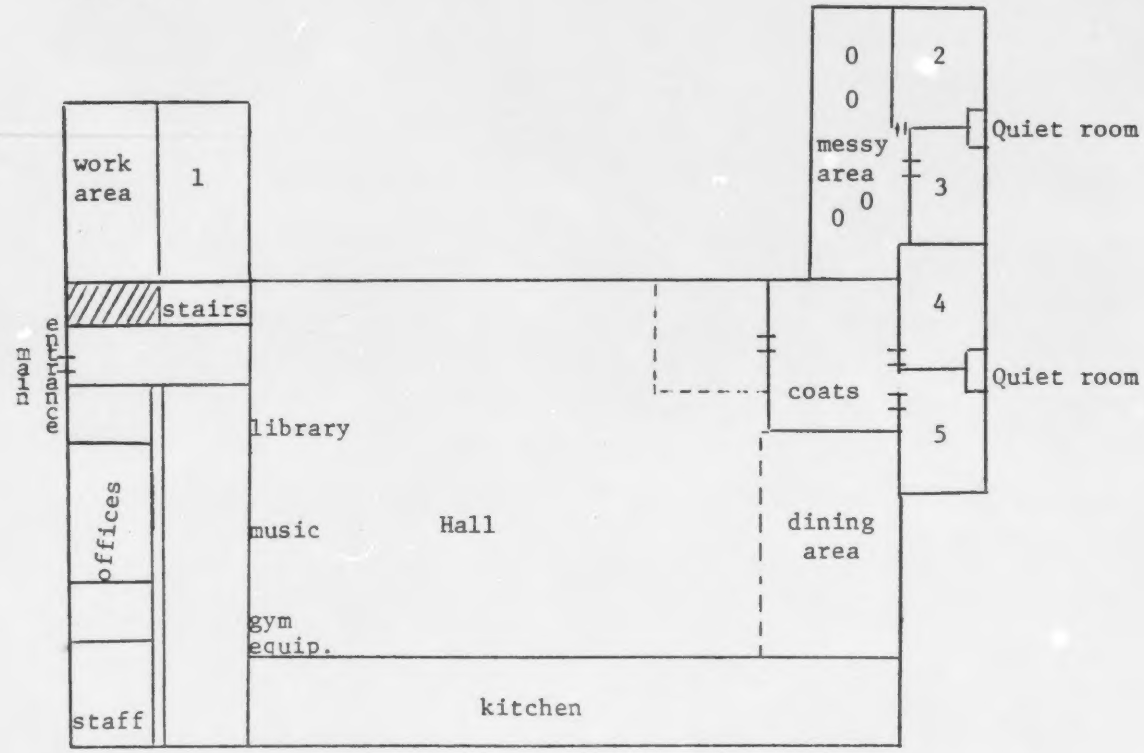
## Research Procedures

My research resembles previous collections of children's folklore (e.g., Douglas 1916 and Opie 1977) in several ways. As others have done, I have collected and categorized children's lore. I have based my research on the theory that children's folklore is a continuous oral tradition. My research is different from most other studies because I am dealing with only one environment. All of my data is from a school with an informal educational philosophy.

In my research I am investigating basically three hypotheses. Folklore is an integral part of the culture of children and of child-child communication; my first hypothesis is that folklore plays a part in children's socialization. According to George Herbert Mead and Charles Horton Cooley, the image individuals have of themselves are learned through their interpretation of the evaluation people around them have made of them. As children begin to learn through others they are becoming socialized.

Secondly, it is my belief that folklore falls into several categories. Through an analysis of my data, I am able to demonstrate different purposes for folklore.

Folklore is sometimes defined as an oral tradition. Obviously, speech is a common medium for the transmission of folklore; virtually all of my data has been gathered by listening to children recite rhymes. My third hypothesis is that certain environments are more conducive to informal speech than others. By analyzing children's speech it will become apparent that language is context-bound or contingent upon the situation. Children speak differently to each other than they do to a teacher. Speech is also contingent upon the general environment. For example, the influence of an informal educational philosophy on children's speech would be different from speech and verbal interaction in a traditional enclosed classroom. A diagram of the school, depicts the flexibility of movement which contributes to verbal interaction at Bankfoot.


work area
1
stairs
main entrance
offices
staff
library
music
gym equip.
Hall
kitchen
0
0
messy area
0
0
2
3
Quiet room
4
coats
Quiet room
5
dining area

During the summer of 1977 I spent eight weeks investigating these hypotheses through participant-observation and library research. Nine days were spent observing children at Bankfoot First School in Bradford, West Yorkshire. Bankfoot is a school with an informal education philosophy. Some of the classes are vertically grouped, containing children differing in age by as much as two years. Other classes are horizontally grouped, containing children whose ages are all within one year of each other. There are 20 immigrant children in the school. The children live in the Bradford area within walking distance from the school. The children generally come from working class families and many of them have working mothers.

After my first day of participant observation, I focused my attention primarily on one classroom where I could learn the children's names and be able to interact with them. The class contains 38 children, with slightly more girls than boys. There are four immigrant children in the class - three are from India or Pakistan, one from China.

The teacher I worked with, Miss S, allowed me to work with children in small groups practically every time I asked. She acted as my informant, telling me about some of the children's homes and backgrounds. In the classroom, I found that the children adjusted to my presence very quickly. As a participant observer, I could listen to the children talk amongst themselves. As Stubbs (1976: 73) has noted:

> ...the pressure of interaction with their peers typically outweighs the presence of an observer, and helps approach the unattainable ideal, the recording "normal" language.

After completing my five weeks of participant observation, for the next three weeks I conducted library research in basically two areas, sociolinguistics and an analysis of folklore. Sociolinguistics is the study of language with respect to the social setting, constraints and attitudes. In order to understand the context of the folklore from my observations I read sociologists (Charles Hornton Cooley and George Herbert Mead) and linguists (Basil Bernstein, Peter Trudgill, and Michael Stubbs). Then I applied the information about context-bound language in my analysis of the environmental influence of speech (specifically how an open plan classroom encourages talk).

In order to analyze folklore I read the work of Peter Opie in which he classifies folklore that he has found in schools all over England. Opie's research has helped me categorize my data, and also find references for historical and regional variations of folklore. His work made it possible for me to determine some origins of folklore, but more significantly, it made me able to determine purposes for the use and perpetuation of folklore. If I had been able to do this library research before or during my participant observation, it would have aided me in my data collection. As I found various uses for folklore, I could have interviewed the children at Bankfoot if I had still been at my placement. However, I was able to collect enough data from Bankfoot even without very much knowledge about the actual lore that I was investigating. This made me realize that the setting in which I was observing must have been either conducive to the transmission of folklore, or that the setting did not inhibit or interfere with the children's natural tendency to practice and transmit folklore. Because of the ease with which I collected my data, and the abundancy of folklore I found at Bankfoot, I think that the school setting deserves attention and evaluation.

## Influence of The School Environment

In order to understand the significance of group lore on a sociological level, I read articles by Charles Hornton Cooley and George Herbert Mead. Cooley (1970: 70) has defined primary groups and stressed their importance for the individual as follows:

> By primary groups I mean those characterized by intimate face-to-face association cooperation... they are fundamental in forming the social nature of the individual.

When a primary group teaches its rites and rituals to individuals, it is socializing the individual and allowing him or her to adopt to a new group. Even as a foreigner in England, unfamiliar with the schools, I could easily detect peer influences and controls at Bankfoot. For example, I observed some girls singing a rhyme together and another girl, Gaynor, walked over to them and wanted to play with them. The girls told her bluntly to go away, and Gaynor was visibly very hurt. I also observed three girls who seemed to have formed their own peer group.

> The three girls who are academically the slower children in the class are Rachel, Beverly and Tracey. They have a lot of trouble with their math and reading, and I have helped them all on separate occassions. The girls stay together alot during play and work times. They seem to be unable to keep up with the rest of the class in academics and physical activities, so they help each other.

When children practiced and taught each other rhymes, I could note peer group influences - how the group captivated and caught the interest of other children.

> These groups, then, are the sprigs of life, not only for the individual, but for social institutions. They are only in part moulded by special traditions and in larger degrees, express a universal nature.

communicate social mores and folkways.

> Much of this unregulated flow serves not only to teach children about others and how to live with them, but, as it knits groups of children together, it makes new kinds of communication and learning possible...they have become a "we". This is the social world they must carry in their heads in order to live and act (Rosen 1973: 43).

As children become aware of people around them they learn to play together and cooperate in games. Games have a logic - all individuals are related to each other so that there is no conflict in the desired end. Children are inconsistent and unpredictable at times because they are in the process of forming their personalities. They are learning consistency from their primary group interaction, as well as cooperation and how to become less egocentric (Mead 1969: 276).

> In so far as the child does take the attitude of the other and allows that attitude to determine the thing he is going to do with reference to a common end, he is becoming an organic member of society (Mead 1969: 278).

Through games and verbal interaction, it becomes evident that children are "...in the process of moving from egocentric utterance which scarcely needs an audience to social talk which expects to be taken up and made something of" (Rosen 1973: 45). Mead (1969: 278) continues and stresses the role of language in this process of the child building a personality and adjusting to the world around.

> I have spoken of this (personality arising) as a process in which a child takes the role of the other, and said that it takes place essentially through the use of language. Language is predominantly based on the vocal gesture by means of which cooperative activities in a community are carried out.

Another way that children gain prestige through folklore is by telling rhymes about their teacher or through rhymes with improper or embarrassing words. Some examples are:

Ally, Ally, Ulla
Teacher hit me with a ruler
The ruler broke in two
So she hit me with her shoe.
Now me bum's all black and blue.
(Bankfoot)

Glory, Glory, Halleluiah
Teacher hit me with a ruler
(Opie 1977: 400)

Georgie Best, Superstar
He wears frilly knickers
And he wears a bra
The bra's too big
So he wears a wig
And that's why they call him a sexy pig
(Bankfoot)

Nar, Nar Sticky bum
Put a lollie up your bum
(Bankfoot, Juliette. When Miss S found out
that Juliette said this she was shocked and said
"I would never have expected that from Sweet
Juliette!")

Ham, Ham pig's bum
When I have a party
You shan't come
Bread without butter
Tea without sugar
Ham, Ham pigs bum
(Opie 1977: 113)

Children use folklore in order to help them deal with the here and now. Certain issues that fascinate children are death (Opie 1977: 52) and racial differences, specifically blacks and Asians (Opie 1977: 106). I found the following examples of ghoulism in folklore at Bankfoot and their parallels in Opie.

Grannie in the chair, Grannie in the chair,
Kick her off, Kick her off
Grannie in the chair.
(Bankfoot)

Oh ye cannae shove yer grannie off the bus.
(Opie 1977: 46)

My brother, I teach him how to swim
He drank up all the water and he ate up all the soap
He died last night with a bubble in his throat.
In came the doctor, in came the nurse.
In came the lady with the alligator purse.
(Bankfoot)

Mother, mother, I am ill
Send for the doctor from over the hill.
In comes the doctor, in comes the nurse
In comes the lady with the alligator purse.
(Opie 1977: 54 -from 1952)

The children at Bankfoot were very aware of racial differences probably because their school had about a 10% immigrant population. The children's racial awareness was reflected in their folklore.

I like coffee, I like tea
I like sitting on a blackman's knee.
(Bankfoot)

Do you like coffee, do you like tea
Do you like sitting on a blackman's knee?
(Opie 1977: 85)

If you stand on a nick
You'll marry a brick.
(Bankfoot)

There is someone under the bed
Whoever can it be
A dirty looking blackman
As black as black can be.
(Bankfoot)

Other types of folklore that teach children to cope with the here and now are superstitions and beliefs that they may have heard from their parents, for instance believing in a tooth fairy who gives money for milk teeth (Bankfoot and Opie 1977: 328). I heard Miss S say the following to children during my observation.

"I told you to take your thumb out of your
mouth or it will grow small."
(Bankfoot)

> "You'll wind up with white spots all over your tongue for that fib you told me."
> (Bankfoot)
> (This has been a belief since 1584 -Opie 1977: 148.)

## The Influence of Language Development Upon Folklore

> ...children learn through talk and the way they do this is complex and varied. Three different processes are interrelated; all of which are of intense concern to teachers. Firstly, a child must have experience of language; secondly he must have experience of the world; thirdly, he must be able to organise his thinking so that he makes sense of both kinds of experience. (Rosen 1973: 41)

In order to summarize my data, it is necessary to analyze the children's speech, the context and environmental influences of language. In discussing speech, it is important to distinguish between two codes of language. According to Basil Bernstein (1970) every person has access to two codes of language. The "restricted" code has a high proportion of personal pronouns, infrequent subordinate clauses and passive verbs. The "elaborated" code has a high proportion of adverbs, conjunctions, subordinate clauses and passive verbs.

> ...restricted code is typically used within groups who know each other well, such as families, and it has the effect of stressing the speaker's membership of that group..."elaborated" code, on the other hand, tends to be used in more formal situations; it stresses the speaker's individuality as a person; and it takes less for granted (Trudgill 1975: 91).

Bernstein's sociolinguistic research is significant in its own right, but he emphasizes that he is not the only linguist who has made a distinction between the two major language codes.

> Sapir, Malinowski, Firth, Vygotsky and Luria have all pointed out from different points of view that the closer the identification of speakers, the greater the range of shared interests and the more probable that the speech will take a specific form (Bernstein 1970: 165).

All of these linguists have distinguished between a language code for private or informal purposes in which there are common references for speakers, and communication is successful with restricted language. I have chosen to use Bernstein's linguistic terms because they are most successful with restricted language and because his most recent research deals with sociolinguistic factors which determine the speaker's language code. This was one of my interests while observing at Bankfoot.

In my data I have examined imaginative and interpersonal restricted language. First of all, I am examining restricted code versus elaborated code beacuse schools as institutions encourage children's use of restricted code language (Bernstein 1970: 173). This restricted language may be either teacher directed or child directed. For example, a teacher may ask questions for discussion and direct the children's speech. This attitude toward children's language creates "classes of children silently listening to words of wisdom and speaking only when spoken to" (Rosen 1973: 42).

> Young children have a curiosity and an urge to find out about the world... All too often this curiosity is not sanctioned in school and their attention is directed instead to barren collections of information which give no hint of the excitement of discovery and doubt. It is only those affairs which create real preoccupation which can make them reach out for the language to express new understanding, new questions and new perceptions (Rosen 1973: 28).

In the informal educational philosophy, children are encouraged to direct much of their verbal interaction, to explore and discover the world around them and to use their language abilities to deal with their new experiences (Whitbread 1972: 126).

Both teacher-directed and child-directed language are restricted because in the classroom there are common reference points between speakers. It is therefore, almost always context-bound speech. It is necessary to discuss the uses of language as they vary situationally as stated earlier. Bernstein has defined and distinguished between four inter-related uses of language depending on the context of the speech (Bernstein 1970: 170). The regulative context is used in authority relationships or specifically, when a child is made aware of social mores and folkways. An example of this speech at Bankfoot was when Miss S told a child, "You'll wind up with white spots all over your tongue for that fib you told me." The instrumental context is used for the child to acquire various skills. An example is, "start your sums at the top (of the page) and copy them down as you go" (Miss S. -Bankfoot). These are familiar language contexts in almost all classrooms, but they are controlled and regulated by the teacher. I am primarily concerned with children's restricted language use in the classrooms which usually occurs in two different contexts as defined by Bernstein: imaginative and interpersonal. Restricted language in the imaginative context is "where the child is encouraged to experiment and recreate his world on his own terms and in his own way" (Bernstein 1970: 170). An example of this would be when a boy said goodbye to me at Bankfoot, "Goodbye, American malt liquor." In the interpersonal context, the child is aware of his relationships with other people. For example, John was talking about kissing the teachers and Margaret said, "You're so cheeky!" It is in the interpersonal and imaginative restricted language code that the bulk of child language and folklore occurs.

Because speech is context-bound, it is important to analyze the context of my participant observation. This includes both the specific situation of the verbal interaction and the general atmosphere of the environment. Language use varies situationally. Children's language may be affected if a stranger is present or if they are with their peers on the playground.

> When I was first at Bankfoot I noticed relatively little spontaneous speech. I thought that the children were so well behaved because they spoke politely and formally even during my first meals with them. But as the children became more accustomed to me, they spoke with more spontaneity in front of me.

On one occasion I noticed a dramatic change in the children's language, when a group of mothers and their infants looked in on the classroom.

> As soon as the mothers looked in on the children I could sense a change in the children. They quieted down because they were either inhibited or distracted by the strangers. Miss S said to the children, "Go back to your work. You have all seen mums before." As soon as the mums left, the noise level rose to its usual level.

When I was first at Bankfoot, my presence caused the children to speak quietly and politely. They were on their "best behavior". But as I got to know the children, their verbal interaction seemed to be less affected by my presence. If I heard some children talking to each other across the room and I walked over and sat down next to them, their conversation continued and they did not seem to notice me.

On my last day of observation they seemed so used to me that I had trouble getting their attention.

> Beverly and Rachel were playing with dolls in the corner. I sat down and wanted to talk to Beverly. Both of the girls were engrossed in their play and did not notice me. I had to ask

> Beverly my question several times before she recognized my presence and answered me.

Influence of the Informal School Environment

The children's language varies situationally according to the people who are present and also according to the direct environment. I found that when the children were working in the central class area, quiet room or the large hall during music, assembly or library time, they tended to speak very little.

> The music teacher dismissed the group row by row, each time saying "Let's see who can be the best children." The children responded beautifully to her. They walked in nice straight lines without saying a word.

There was a tacit understanding that these were times and areas in which listening was more appropriate than talking. When the children were in the messy area, outside, or in the large hall for dinner or physical education, they interacted verbally. During these times the children were encouraged to talk to each other.

> The teacher was working with a few children in the "messy area." They had a large painting of a school bus and the children each drew pictures of themselves (shoulders up) to paste on the bus on the seat where they sat for the field trip last week. The teacher and children were talking informally about where the pictures should be placed.

I was impressed with the way the children could adapt their speech to suit the various situations. I hypothesized that they learned how to switch language codes because they were exposed to many varied language experiences as a result of the informal educational philosophy at Bankfoot.

> The most successful classrooms are...ones which create a context in which a rich variety of language can flow with ease. For that to happen

> speakers must share a past, must share meanings, must have knowledge in common, must be able to make assumptions about each other, and must have built their own network of conventions within which there is room for all those negotiations which language makes possible, facilitates and fosters (Rosen 1973: 39).

There are several reasons why informal education (specifically Bankfoot) provides an environment that is conducive to child-child talk and the transmission of folklore. Four major aspects of informal education are: 1) the integrated day-several subjects can be combined during the day so that the curriculum has continuity; 2) in-and-outness - the concept that children can work freely in a variety of areas in a classroom; 3) the role of the teacher as someone who directs the children so that they can learn primarily by themselves; 4) vertical age grouping - having children with as much as two years age difference in the same class. These factors contribute to the informal learning environment at Bankfoot which affects the children's language use. Through an analysis of these four factors, it becomes apparent that interpersonal and imaginative restricted code language can thrive in a school structured to provide an informal education. "A free situation fosters spontaneous use of language" (Weber 1971: 224).

The integrated day encourages continuity between the various subjects that the children learn. This is sometimes done through the language experience approach to reading which integrates reading, writing, listening and speaking skills. The integrated day can, but does not necessarily lead to an atmosphere conducive to learning.

> The primary school can have both the warm intimacy and also the promise of new explorations, both the welcoming acceptance and also the wider circle of others. To say that a school has an integrated day

> tells us nothing about this. At any rate, it tells us very little about the particular world being established, how the people in it talk to one another, the messages they send and how they are received, and what is distinctive about the adult's voice when it enters the conversation (Rosen 1973: 24).

One of the important aspects of Bankfoot's integrated day was that work and play were commonly integrated. For example, some children may be working on sums, others on writing and others may be in a corner with the box of sand. The classroom environment was rich in experiences and language usage. This informal environment encouraged the children to be relaxed, and therefore allowed for child directed imaginative and interpersonal language including folklore. All levels of language could be heard at one time depending where you were in the room.

Because of the physical structure of Bankfoot, the teachers and children could use different work areas for different purposes. There was flexibility in the usage of certain rooms (for example, the large hall) which, as I have already noted, created a variety of language code usage for the children. Bankfoot also used the out-of-doors whenever the weather permitted. One day when the weather was exceptionally nice, I noted the following:

> ...the reception class had moved outside with their toys and water play equipment. Then another class went outside in their underwear for physical education. The children seemed excited to be outside and their speech was excited and informal.

As the curriculum design encourages spontaneous child-directed language, so does the physical structure of an open plan school. The language that is facilitated includes folklore.

Teachers of informal education help the children learn about the world around them, but they do not teach them directly; they provide the children with experiences and a learning environment to help the children learn by themselves.

> The concept of a teacher holding the centre of the stage indulging in historic performances and feats of skill with the chalk on the blackboard is out of tune in today's society... She is responsible for creating all kinds of circumstances for learning and for creating new opportunities that the children themselves would never consider (Rosen 1973: 38).

This environment allows for child-directed talk and encourages the verbal interaction of the children. For example, I observed the children examining a display on a table top. All the articles were made of wood. As each item was picked up by a child, the other children talked about it. Another example of the environment fostering verbal interaction is the artwork that hangs all over the classrooms and hallways, and has been positioned for the children to see. When I was in the reception class (of five-year-olds), I noticed the following.

> A lot of the children's artwork was low enough for the children to point to and identify. Andrew made me find and identify his work.

Because the children are combined in vertical age groups, they become aware of children who are different from them physically, emotionally and academically. They are encouraged to help each other (Weber 1971: 39). The younger children learn from the others and do not seem to resent their criticism; the older children feel a sense of responsibility and concern for the younger ones.

> ...the school has a mixed age group in each class and it has actively fostered the older children's feeling that they as much as the teachers were the hosts for new arrivals (Rosen 1973: 23).

In my observations I noted these two incidents:

> Mark pointed to one boy and said to me, "He can't write." I replied "Well maybe you'll help him learn how to." Mark nodded yes as if to say, of course.
>
> John wrote "29" on the blackboard for Miss S to remember how many children were staying for lunch. Several of the children traced what John's "29" looked like and how it should look. (They traced in the air with their fingers.) They were trying to be helpful and John watched them with slight interest.

Besides this helpfulness exhibited in academics, I have noticed the bigger children comforting the littler ones when they were crying after being verbally disciplined by a teacher or after getting hurt while playing outside.

## Summary and Conclusions

The informal educational environment fosters spontaneous language and an attitude of helpfulness and concern for others. Spontaneous language encourages the practicing of folklore; helpfulness encourages primary group interaction and the teaching of folklore. These factors allow for an easy transmission of folklore and help produce a school environment rich in the lore and language of schoolchildren.

To summarize my findings:

1. Folklore does play a part in children's socialization. Children teach each other rhymes. The child who learns from the primary group is being socialized.
2. Folklore serves several purposes including, fun and enjoyment, prestige and power, and coping with the here and now.
3. The transmission of folklore is contingent upon the environment. The informal education classroom fosters spontaneous, child-directed language.

In any other study of folklore in a school of informal education, one should expect to find rich oral language and tradition. Even though I did not compare Bankfoot to any other school environment, from the research I have done, I can conclude that if folklore or child-directed language is at all encouraged, it will thrive because folklore is purpose-serving and an integral part of children's culture.

## References

Bernstein, Basil
1972 "Social class, language and socialization." In Gigboli (ed.) Language and Social Class. England: Penguin.

Cooley, Charles Hornton
1972 "Primary groups." Pp. 70-73 in Wrong and Gracy (eds.) Readings in Introductory Sociology. New York: Macmillan.

Eckenstein, Lina
1906 Comparative Studies in Nursery Rhymes. Duckworth.

Gomme, Alice B.
1894 Traditional Games of England, Scotland and Ireland. Vols. I and II.

Halliwell, James
1854 Nursery Rhymes and Nursery Tales of England. London: Frederick Warne.

Mead, George Herbert
1969 "Play, the game and the generalized other." Pp. 111-115 in Coser and Rosenberg (eds.) Sociological Theory: A Book of Readings. New York: Macmillan.

Northall, G. F.
1892 English Folk Rhymes. London.

Opie, Iona and Peter
1977 The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren. Great Britain: Paladin.

Rosen, Harold and Connie
1973 The Language of Primary School Children. England: Penguin.

Strutt
1801 Sports and Pastimes of the People of England.

Stubbs, Michael
1976 Language, Schools and the Classrooms. London: Methuen.

Trudgill, Peter
1975 Accent, Dialect and the School. London: Edward Arnold.

Weber, Lillian
1971 The English Infant School and Informal Education. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Whitbread, Nanette
1972 The Evolution of the English Infant School. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

# BLACK? WHITE? BROWN? . . . AND/OR BRITISH?

## (A Case Study of a Black Adopted Child in a White British Family)

by

Ce Cole

> Your children are not your children
> They are the sons and daughters of Life's longing for itself
> They come through you but not from you
> And though they are with you yet belong not to you
> You may give them love, but not your thoughts
> For they have their own thoughts.
> You may house their bodies but not their souls,
> For their souls dwell in the house of tomorrow,
> Which you cannot visit, not even in your dreams,
> You may strive to be like the, but seek not to make them like you
> For life goes not backward nor tarries with yesterday.
>
> Gabril Khan
> The Prophet

Adoption as a social phenomenon is a highly charged issue for both parent and child. The issue becomes even more difficult when the child is one who has "special" needs. In a white dominant society children of colour are categorized as having special needs generally because there are usually many more children than the demand for them. In the case of mixed-race children, they have been between cultures and races and generally no one wants them.

In Britain for about the last fifteen years or so, mixed race children and black children have been adopted by white families. For these families there is a barrage of non-ceasing questions, many with agonizing or no answers. The two biggest issues that such a family faces about such a child are development (cognitive, social, and emotional) and adjustment (family, peers, and later into adulthood.)

In 1970 Lois Raynor, an American social worker with experience in child welfare and adoption, and the second Director of the British Adoption Project produced one of the first works on the subject. The British Adoption Project was an experiment organized by International Social Service of Great Britain as a four year project to place 50 healthy babies born in Britain of Asian, African, West Indian, and mixed racial parentage with white adoptive parents. "The British Adoption Project grew out of concern about the lack of adoption resources for British born children of diverse racial origins" (Raynor 1970: 23). Social workers in adoption found it difficult if not impossible to place such children. "They were accustomed to placing English babies with English adoptors and found it difficult if not impossible to arrange for the adoption of coloured babies" (Raynor 1970: 24). Thus there has been almost no systematic collection of the incidence of adoption by white parents of coloured immigrant children, and no longitudinal works on the child's development, and parental and child interaction.

There are a number of factors that come into play when looking at why interracial adoption in Britain presents many questions with even more unknown answers in the 1970's.

It has only been in the post World War II period that Britain has seen a large influx of peoples of colour for the Commonwealth countries. (In Britain, particularly in the circles of academia immigrants of colour have been lumped together under the term "black" or "coloured". For the purposes of this particular paper I am concerning myself mainly with the West Indian "black" population and throughout the paper the terms "black" and West Indian will be used interchangeably with no particular reference to any of the other "coloured" or "black" immigrants. The main reason for this is that West Indian immigration patterns are significantly different from the other coloured immigrants, and have contributed to the disproportionate numbers of West Indian children placed for adoption.)

There has been no shortage of research on the problems of the urban immigrant poor. Prior to 1952 West Indians immigrated to Britain at the rate of about 1,000 per year (Hiro 7). "Before the 1962 Immigration Act, which restricted the free flow of all British subjects from Commonwealth countries into Britain, no accurate record was kept of the numbers coming in, consequently all figures relating to years prior to 1962 are estimates" (Bowker 1968: 8). In 1952 the McCarran-Walter Act virtually shut the door of the United States to the West Indian population; out of the whole West Indies 800 immigrants a year were allowed into the United States following the McCarran Act (Bowker 1968: 8). "Nearly 11,000 West Indians came to Britain in 1954" (Hiro 7). In 1955 that figure more than doubled and subsequently stabilized at about 17,000 per year after that (Hiro 7). Thus the presence of large numbers of highly visible (coloured) immigrants is a twenty-five year old phenomenon in Britain.

The slave history and background has had a tremendous impact on family relations in the West Indies, and upon the patterns of immigration for West Indians. During slave time traditional nuclear families were smashed among the slaves for a variety of reasons. Slave owners operated under the notion that slave women bred better by a series of different men instead of one; slaves were the property of the master and many times the female slaves were exploited sexually by the master;

and since slaves were the property of the master they were bought and sold at will. Thus if a male slave wanted to protect his family there was no recourse for him to do so. Hence there were no opportunities to form traditional patriarchal families during slavery. Slaves also were not encouraged to marry in a legal ceremony, a pattern which continued even after they were emancipated. After emancipation in 1834 many of the patterns of concubinage and common-law marriages continued. Therefore, in the West Indies there is no stigma on pre-marital sex, common-law union, or having more than one union in a lifetime. (That is not to intimate that there was no legal marriage, or lasting concubinage unions, only that they were not the norm.) In the West Indies when a child was born out of wedlock or through a common-law union usually there was a member of the immediate family -- grandmother, aunt, sister -- who could look after the child if and when the mother worked.

Most of the women who immigrated to Britain from the West Indies were young and alone. If they had any previous children they were usually left in care of a relative in the West Indies to be sent for at a later date. Often these women formed a common-law marriage or concubinage union in Britain. Unlike the black community in the United States, a West Indian man who has out-of-wedlock children generally tends to support the child financially if he does not live with the child. So many times the partners in a common-law marriage in Britain spent a substantial amount of earnings on both sides in remittance to the West Indies to pay for children left there. This precludes the ability of a mother to stop working and take care of a child born in Britain. Had the child been born in the West Indies undoubtedly it would have been absorbed into the family. Since the immigrants from the West Indies are usually young women and men there was no one in the family unit to care for the child while the mother worked. Also the place where the mother enters the labor force undermines her ability to pay for childminding services. Many times the child born in Britain under such conditions was placed for adoption. It is important to stress that these aren't the only reasons children of West Indian descent and partial West Indian descent are placed for adoption. Many of the interracial children white and West Indian, particularly in the case of West Indian fathers/white mothers, the child is not even known to exist to the West Indian father. Usually these children are placed for adoption due to the mother's inability to take a mixed-race child home (familial objections). Thus these children too run a high risk of being placed in care.

The socio-economic problems of the mother, patterns of immigration, and the fact that large numbers of highly visible immigrants were a new phenomenon to Britain contributed to large numbers of black children being either placed in care and remaining there, or being left with a mother who felt she could not cope with the resented child.

> The adoption agencies were accustomed to placing English babies with English adoptors and found it difficult, if not impossible to arrange for the adoption of these (black) babies. Consequently many non-white children were growing up in Children's Homes and foster homes virtually abandoned by their parents, while others were said to be kept by mothers who felt quite unable to cope and in some cases almost completely rejected the child. (Raynor 1970: 24).

Among social workers and adoption officials there was a great deal of concern about the lack of resources for British-born children of diverse racial origins. Within the immigrant community there has been a less than adequate response to adopt or foster immigrant children placed in care. Many immigrants are in the same position as the mother who gave up the child! A solution that many workers and agencies hit upon was to place a healthy black child with white English parents for whom a white English baby usually was not available. The priority for placing a child in an adoptive home is for the home to be financially, emotionally, and spiritually secure. It is believed that generally financial, emotional and spiritual security would provide a happy home for the child and that it would be a positive experience for the child. According to Sister Philomena of the Catholic Children's Rescue Society in Didsbury:

> The people involved in the fields of both child care and adoption were instrumental in formulating and getting passed into law the Child Care and Adoption Act of 1975. These people worked and were policy makers in the field. The burning issue for them is that every child needs loving, nurturing and care. In adoption cases it is the duty of the social worker to take the child back home. If going back home is possible then it is the responsibility of everyone involved to make adoption a very positive thing for the child.

For the white English parents who adopt a black child or a mixed-race child it is generally assumed that in order to make adoption a positive experience for the child more factors than making a home financially, emotionally and spiritually secure are involved. The high visibility of skin colour, hair texture, and skin texture, are recognized by the children at a very early age. "Many parents reported that their child's awareness of his colour came at a very early age" (Jackson 1976: 19). With this awareness begins the problem of explaining to the child why there is a difference, and that being different is not inherently bad. For the parent this means having an adequate understanding and confidence in him/her self, as well as an understanding of the genetic factors involved in skin colouring, etc.

There is great difficulty in assessing "success" or "failure" in adoption. It is particularly dangerous to draw firm conclusions about a family based upon observations and assessments from a particular point in time. All families have ups and downs. It would be valuable to have a series of impressions selected over a period of time to create a more accurate and ongoing family picture, particularly since family relations are fluid and attempts to measure at a given point in time must be viewed in the context of such limitations.

During the summer of 1977 in a four week period, I observed in the school setting a six-and-a-half-year-old half black Guyanan, half white Dutch girl who has been adopted by a white middle-class British family. (Guyana, formerly British Guiana, is considered part of the Carribean countries even though it is located on the continent of South America.) Also I spent time with the family on an informal basis over a slightly longer period of time (about six weeks). I have talked with the adoption officer of the Roman Catholic Children's Rescue Society, and have interviewed the parents of the child in my study as well as another white middle-class couple who have a mixed race male child who is now thirteen. I have also talked to the boy who, due to his age, is more articulate and has developed a stance on adoption.

## Background Information

Lucy was born in London on August 31, 1970. Her mother placed her for adoption without ever telling the father of her existence.

They had been going together for quite a time, but had broken off relations when the mother discovered she was pregnant. The mother, having no desire to resume the relationship, then decided not to tell the father of the child's existence for fear that the father would want to resume the relationship and keep the child. Lucy went to a foster home when she was released from the hospital. She was first seen by her adoptive parents when she was two weeks old. When she was three weeks old she went home for good with her adoptive parents. The adoption agency provides the adoptive parents with as much information as they can about the biological parents. The adoption was finalized in February, 1971.

At the time of her adoption, Lucy's parents had been married for three years. They have one other child (biological) who was seventeen months old when Lucy was born. The mother was forty years of age at the adoption, and the father forty-eight. Each had been married previously, and the father has three children by a previous marriage.

Currently both mother and father hold positions as professors. (In Britain that position is the top ranking position in a department, synonymous to the position of chairman.) The mother's position is in Sociology, and the father's is in Sociology and Industrial Relations. The mother has had her position for five years, the father for four. Prior to becoming Professors both were readers in their respective fields. (Readers is a special status research position). This makes them both social class I in Britain.

> Since the 1951 census occupations have also been classified into socio-economic groups...Ideally each socio-economic group should contain people whose social, cultural, and recreational standards and

> behavior are similar. As it is not practical to ask direct questions about the subjects in a population census, the allocation of occupied persons to socio-economic groups is determined by considering their employment status and occupation (Reid 1977: 37).

The mother's background is social class IV and the father's is IIIB (semi-skilled manual, and skilled manual, respectively, with these classifications being based upon father's occupation).

Prior to the birth of their biological child the parents had talked about and decided upon adopting a child. They wanted a hard-to-place child, but not necessarily a black child. The mother said during the interview that "we wouldn't have turned down a white child in need of a home to wait for a black child." (The adoptive mother has a serious medical problem which would have made further natural childbirth extremely difficult. Indeed the biological child was born after a difficult pregnancy.) The adoptive parents felt that they had the financial, and emotional resources to provide a home for a needy child. When Lucy was born a trained nanny was employed by the family from 8:30a.m. to 5:30p.m. Monday through Friday (no weekends or nights). The point of this according to the parents was that baths before bed, night feeding, early morning feeding, was done by the parents.

The parents said during the interview that adoption has been a household word since Lucy was 3-1/2 weeks old because they had another child who was just learning to talk at the time. Hence, there was no point in time when the child had to be sat down and told about being adopted. Her mother said "When Lucy was a baby she used to say she was 'adockted', prior to the word having any real significance for her."

Her awareness of her colouring being different came when she was two years old. According to her parents on Saturday morning when her father was sleeping late Lucy came into the room and got on the bed. She looked at her father, and then looked at herself, then she asked "Why am I so brown?" She said that she was told, "Your first daddy was brown."

From conversations with the parents it seems that Lucy has a fascination with her father as opposed to her mother (biological). It probably has to do with that fact that her brown colouring, which makes her so different comes from the biological father. (Although I spent a lot of time with Lucy she never mentioned adoption or colour to me. When I tentatively broached the subject with her she talked about other things which I have taken to mean that at this point in time adoption is not an issue for her, and I did not press the issue.) The parents said that there have been incidents of the other children calling Lucy a "Paki" or "Pakistani" (Pakistanis form the largest immigrant group in the area.) She said that Lucy wanted to know about Guyana and her father, and says that she is not a Pakistani. Her parents told her that she was right that she was not a Pakistani, but there was nothing wrong with being one either.

Lucy went to play group at age three. She went to nursery school at age 3-1/2 and started first school in the term before she was five. Lucy's birthday is the last day of the term in which any child can enter in a particular class. This means that she is generally the youngest child in the class. Her mother said that she had been fairly well adjusted and happy at the play group and nursery. When she entered the reception class her mother said that she was fairly reluctant to go after having been so well adjusted to the nursery. She said that one Friday evening after the children had come home from school and were in the kitchen helping to prepare supper Lucy asked, "Why do they keep hitting me?" When queried about the situation "who hits you?" Lucy said, the children in her class (4-1/2 - 5 year-olds). When Sophie (Lucy's sister) was asked why Lucy was being hit she replied, "I think it is because she is new". When asked if she had been hit when she was new, she replied no. When the adoptive parents went to see the headmistress about the situation - the parents had not been informed by the school that such incidents were going on - the headmistress told them that "She would adjust and that they were well aware of the problem". The parents said that the hitting did stop, and that there were no more incidents until the beginning of the next term, when they were informed that Lucy would not be allowed to move up with her class. The reason given to the parents was that she was so young. In a letter to the headmistress from the parents, their comment on the situation was:

> The point is that not moving Lucy "up" is equivalent in children's eyes to being kept "down". Children are kept "down" because they are slow, backward, not good enough to move "up". Thus if Lucy does not move, particularly if she is the only one of a small group it will tend to reinforce the view that she is different, and inferior.
>
> My argument would still stand but might be weakened if there were some educational reasons for holding Lucy back. Mrs.—— assured us of Lucy's competence in relation to children in her class.

On the first day of the term Lucy was placed with the lower class. Her mother said that she spoke with the headmistress and made her view perfectly clear. She said at the end of the day Lucy came out of the school bubbling and said, "They made a mistake, and put me in the class with the babies, but they fixed it later."

Lucy has been in school two and a half years. She attends a school that is near her home. The parents said that they looked at every school in the area before they decided which school they were going to send their children to. There are two schools where the majority of the children are of middle class backgrounds. The father said that they chose the school which the children attend which is mainly composed of children from the lower working classes, and the council estates (public housing) because they feel that it is necessary for their children to know many facets of life, not just the advantages of the middle class. He said that they feel that the council house children are part of the vast majority of people in the world who do not live in luxury, and many times not even in comfort. Lucy is one of the few middle class children that attends the school. Thus she has three immediate differences from her immediate peer group (race, class, and the fact that she is adopted).

## Observations

From my observations of Lucy at school, she appeared to be aloof, and standoffish. She didn't appear to have any one close friend at school, although there was one child that she would bring home with her on occasion. Her interaction with her peers during school time seemed to be self-determined, and self-dominated. During story time she consistently sat off away from her peers, usually under a table. Lucy was never reprimanded for such behavior, but other children who exhibited the same behavior were asked to remove themselves immediately from the spot. On the first day that I observed Lucy at school, I was told by the headmistress, Lucy's teacher, and a student teacher in Lucy's class that she was aloof and standoffish. If my observations of the classroom situation are correct, it seems as if the teacher has created a special place for Lucy. Hence Lucy does not need constant and positive feedback from her peers. Lucy is given with a rather high degree of frequency, special tasks such as running errands, special positions such as usually being the first in line, and special duties such as making sure that the children around her have understood, and are progressing correctly on a given project. She is also frequently given the task of explaining the assignment to a child that has been out of the room and missed the assignment for whatever reasons. On the basis of four weeks' observation I do not think that it would be fair to Lucy or to the school to make hard and fast judgments. But it appears to me that the adults of the school have a significant role in Lucy's school behavior.

At home she again is strong willed, and dominant. She appears to be rather spoiled. She and her sister tend to get along fairly well, but Sophie is particularly even tempered for such a young child. Usually if there is a confrontation Sophie will be the first to offer to compromise or back down. Sophie and Lucy participate in most activities together, although they do not do everything together. They seemed to have developed opposite talents from one another. Lucy also appears to be more clinging to the parents than Sophie. If Lucy falls and hurts herself she will usually go and find either her mother or her father looking for comfort. Sophie will usually just pick herself up and go on. Lucy also spends more time being hugged and cuddled. Sophie seems to have an acute awareness of the timetables of the house, while Lucy seems to have almost no sense of them. I do not think that her behavior differs significantly from any middle-class spoiled youngest child in the family.

Due to the social class position of her parents, Lucy is being socialized to a different set of values and goals than most of her peers. Her parents are excited about her piano playing ability, and have hopes for becoming a concert pianist (although both parents vehemently stress that it is up to Lucy to decide what she wants to do with her life, and are not pushing her to play the piano). Lucy has been taking piano lessons less than a year, and is already doing her own compositions. Her parents have been told by her music teacher that she has a "natural" ear for music. I have watched her compose. Her fingers play while she does not look at the keys, almost as if they flow, until she hits a wrong note. She will play and replay the piece until it is to her satisfaction then she records the tune in a notebook. Most of her peers are children of working class background and will leave school at the legal school leaving age of 16. Thus the hopes of her parents and the realities which they can provide are way beyond the dreams of her peers.

Lucy is the only coloured child in the school. Thus she automatically stands out from her peers. She is a fairly light-skinned child with a golden-tawny colour. She has brown curly hair and light brown eyes with gold flecks. Her hair is cut short and curls naturally into an 'afro' style.

Lucy is a very good runner. She outdistances all of the children in her class, boys and girls with apparent ease. During physical education time, when there were tag games being played (usually boys catch the girls or vice-versa) Lucy was always the last girl to be caught. When she was caught it would be through the combined effort of several of the fastest boy runners in the class. Lucy is also very competitive academically and in sports and games.

I would then suggest that there are a number of factors that make Lucy unique and different from her peers. Therefore although there have been some incidents that have had racial overtones I feel the biggest problem is that she is so different on many levels and thus readily identified and picked out. Beyond the implications of what is going on here and now for Lucy, there are greater implications in terms of a societal context for which she is being socialized. Where will she fit in, or does she have to fit into anywhere? From talking to Lucy's parents, and another couple who have a thirteen-year-old-adopted black son I have gotten the impression that they are socializing their children to be individuals who respect the individuality of others, but that they do have some concerns as to whether their child will be treated in the same manner.

Because Lucy is so young, getting through the next school year is the most pressing problem for her and her parents. For Paul because he is just entering adolescence, the most difficult and trying stage is at hand for them. Basically Paul is of the same background as Lucy and has been with his adoptive parents since he was less than one year old.

> Paul is illegitimate, born of a white mother and a coloured father. The mother was under severe emotional stress during pregnancy since she was

> afraid to tell her parents that the baby was of "mixed-race" (in fact she never did tell them, nor did she allow them to see the baby )...the father is totally unaware of the existence of the child, since the mother broke off all contact with him as soon as she realized that she was pregnant. He is half West Indian, was a university student at the time...Paul is thus quarter caste, 3/4 white 1/4 coloured, but is in fact darker in colouring than his father, and than most half caste children of the same racial background (Macey n.d.: 2).

Paul was born in Manchester on August 17, 1964. (Thus he and Lucy are always among the youngest children in the class.) Paul's adopted father is a Senior Lecturer in the school of Management (social class II because he teaches at a poly-technic college) and his mother is a university lecturer (social class I). His father has held his job for five years, his mother for two. Prior to becoming a lecturer Paul's father worked in industry. His mother was a housewife who received her combined first degree (Sociology/Psychology) in 1970. Paul is the oldest in a family of three children.

> He is an adopted child, the oldest in a family of three which contains a 'natural' child as well as a further adopted child half white, half Indian who suffered brain damage at birth, and is psychopathic (Macey n.d.: 1).

When Paul was adopted his adopted mother was 21, and his father 31. They had been married just a bit over a year. Paul's parents' intentions had been to wait three years before having any children, then having two children and adopting two coloured children. They had decided to participate in an aunt and uncle scheme until the time that they were to begin their own family. Paul's adoptive mother first saw him at the Catholic Children's Rescue Society. She was extremely attracted to the child, and, knowing that his chances of adoption were slight because he was coloured therefore would be unacceptable to the majority of would-be adopters for the child, they applied for and were approved as adoptors for the child (Macey n.d.: 5). Paul is seventeen months older than his adopted sister, Karla, who is nineteen months older than Iain who is a biological child.

At the age of eight Paul was evaluated in a psychological study. On the basis of the Torrance test (creativity), school reports, and the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI), Paul was rated as good in his overall development and adjustment at that point (Macey n.d.: 7).

From my conversations, I was very impressed with his adjustment. When I asked him if he thought adoption was a good thing he said yes. When I asked him why he said that he was loved and cared for, and that it was better than growing up in a home (orphanage). He said that there was a home down the street from their house, and that he plays with the kids sometimes. He said that they do not have anyone that loves or cares about them and that was not any way to grow up. He said that he knows his parents love him, and that he belongs to their family. When I asked him what he does when someone calls him a name with a racial connotation he said that it does not matter because his real friends know and like him for what he is and that is all that is really important. He said that he is no different from the child that wears glasses, or is fat. People can look at him and see he is different, and that it is only the stupid people that talk about it. I asked him if he was any different from his brother Iain because Iain was not adopted, and he said no. He said that his parents spend the same amount of time and money on each of them, so that he did not feel any different from Iain.

Between the two brothers there seems to be a deep and genuine love and affection. When I talked to them there seemed to be a shared attention, and no rivalry. Their parents have many instances where they automatically rally to the defense of one another.

On the basis of this very limited data I would conclude that both of these children seem to have made a fairly good adjustment into their family situations. The parents seem to be sensitive to the needs of the children as individuals, and are trying to give them a sense of identity based upon them being happy and healthy people - not whether they are white, black, brown, or British.

## Conclusion

When I began this study I thought that I would find British society to be much more polarized in terms of black and white racial identity. Aparently, this is not the case. As in America, blacks in Britain do not get jobs on equal terms within the white professional classes; they are not represented in the legal, top class, medical, educational or policy making levels in British society. Nor are they represented in the national self image, or in advertisements. But unlike America, blacks in Britain seem to perceive themselves as part of British society with no heritage or culture different from any other Briton.

They have been sporadic racial incidents. There are areas where there are large followings of the National Front and the Nazi party (both racist organizations) and politicians like Enoch Powell who have advocated the expatriation of blacks to their country of origin. Because of the limited amount of time that blacks have been in this country it would be of great value to continue such studies as this one to see if the perceptions of the adopted child fall in line with such notions as a lack of polarity.

On Adoption

Not of my flesh, not of my bone
Yet still, miraculously, my own;
Never Forget, for even a minute
you did not grow under my heart, but in it.

The British Adoption Creed

## References

Abott, Simon (ed.)
1971 The Prevention of Racial Discrimination in Britain. London: Oxford University Press.

Association of British Adoption and Fostering Agencies
1972 "Explaining Adoption". London: Battley Brother.

Bowker, Gordon
1968 Education of Coloured Immigrants. London: Longmans, Green.

Coard, Bernard
1971 How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Sub-Normal in the British School System. London: New Beacon Books Ltd.

Community Relations Commission
1974 "Ethnic Minorities in Britain - Statistical Data".(March)

Community Relations Commission.
1975 "Fostering Black Children". Pamphlet. March.

Hawkes, Dilip
1971 Black British, White British. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd.

Jackson, Barbara
1976 "Family Experiences of Interracial Adoption". Pamphlet. London: The Association of British Adoption and Fostering Agencies.

Macey, Marie
1972 "An Individual Study of a Child, Paul" unpublished paper. September 27.

Milner, David
1970 Children and Race. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books.

Raynor, Lois
1970 Adoption of Non-White Children. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

Reid, Ivan
1977 Social Class Differences in Britain. Open Books Publishing, Ltd.

Report of the Steering Committee
1977 "The Soul Kids Campaign" (March) London: Waterloo Press Ltd.

## IV. Social Policy

Parents have almost total responsibility for children but little control over larger social conditions. A conception of society as it was, is, and could be, harbors a parallel conception of the family as it was, is, and could be. Both conceptions are challenged by any major social change. Major social change can be threatening to those who hold on to a romanticized past or a creative challenge to those who hold out an idealized vision of the future. The lives of the poorest are those actually most affected. One major social change which affected the lives of families and the education of young children was the Industrial Revolution. No longer were children gradually introduced to work as they grew up by parents, older siblings, or other kin. Industrialization brought a much harsher form of child labor than when children worked under the surveillance of their parents, hard task masters as their parents might be. When attending school was made universal and compulsory in 1870, the relatively young age of five years was selected to protect children from their home environments, to instill habits of cleanliness and order, and to create a literate work force as early as possible. Home and school were strictly segregated. While changes occurred within the school and the age of school leaving was raised, the age of entry and the segregation between home and school were retained. Within the living memory of the heads of the schools we observed in Bradford, there was a line drawn across the entryway to some schools and the notice posted, "No parents beyond this point." A second major social change which affected the lives of families and the education of young children, including the removal of those signs, was World War II. Alternative ways of living and raising children were necessitated by the bombings, evacuations, loss of men overseas, and the necessity for mothers to work in factories. New conceptions of family, childrearing, education, and sex roles were formulated and are still evolving. The education of young children in group settings -- day nurseries, nursery schools, infant schools -- has not destroyed the family. The question is whether educational settings for young children will be designed to support the family rather than remain a societal tool to regulate the poor. Educational settings for young children already exist. The question is whether they will be excellent, mediocre, or substandard. The papers in this section focus upon these issues.

Matthew Katz provides an historical perspective on the relationship between social change, social policy, conceptions of family and the status of women, and provisions for the education and care of young children. Howard Rubin presents a case study of types of parent involvement in one primary school. His study explores different types of relationships between the home and the school, as well as factors which enhance or inhibit the level and quality of the involvement. Jennifer Wallace's study of a playgroup in a shelter for battered women and their children, is presented in the context that piecemeal versus comprehensive provision for child care and education is itself a decision. As long as the traditional loving intact nuclear family is maintained as the only viable public conception, then programs for the under 5's are likely to remain inadequate both in terms of availability and type of provision. Neither the goals of traditional or informal education will be met, in Great Britain or the United States, unless the educational and social needs of children from birth -- not an idealized family type -- begin to structure our vision of society as it could be.

# Issues in British Nursery Education: An Historical Perspective

by

Matthew Katz

With the establishment of the Head Start Program in 1964, the provision of educational services to preschoolers in the United States has become an increasingly important policy issue at the national level. Through the 1960's and the early 1970's, the amount of federal money spent on services to young children increased dramatically (Steinfels 1973). The Child and Family Services Act of 1975, introduced by former Senator Mondale and Representative Brademas, was an attempt to coordinate the many federal programs directed at young children as well as to expand these services. Though this piece of legislation failed passage, it stimulated national debate on the role of the federal government in the provision of services to preschoolers and more specifically on what kinds of services should be provided and who should have primary responsibility for this provision. Central to the controversy over prime sponsorship is the campaign by the American Federation of Teachers to have services to pre-school children brought under the authority of the public schools (American Federation of Teachers 1976).

Of interest to policy makers in the United States, therefore, is England's commitment to the expansion of pre-school services through its state schools. There are, of course, significant differences between the American Federation of Teachers' Educare proposal and Britain's proposal to expand nursery education; yet, in light of the many similarities between England and the United States, an examination of the issues surrounding the delivery of educational services to preschoolers in England may provide insights into some current child care issues in the United States. This paper will examine nursery education in England within the context of a broader child care delivery system and the interaction of various ideological, economic, demographic, and legislative factors which, over the past several decades, have shaped the provision of British nursery education.

Through the Elementary Education Act of 1870 and a series of subsequent legislative acts in the last decades of the 19th century, a system of compulsory and free education developed for children between the ages of five and thirteen years. Prior to and continuing through this period, lower- and working-class children above the age of five were providing care for their younger siblings while their parents worked outside the home. As the five- to thirteen-year-olds began to attend the state-supported elementary schools, their younger siblings came with them. This resulted in an increased number of children under the age of five attending elementary schools, and by 1900, 43.1 percent of all children between the ages of three and five attended elementary schools (see Table I). Not only were schools required (by the 1870 Act) to provide for the under-fives whose parents so desired, but the schools saw the preschoolers' attendance as desirable. Two basic reasons existed for not preventing the under-fives from attending the elementary schools: (1) children over the age of five would be forced to return home to care for their younger siblings, and (2) an early start in the schools would compensate partially for the highly irregular attendance patterns of these children (Whitbread 1972: 24).

Table I: Number of children between the ages of 3 and 5 years attending elementary schools as compared with the total number of children between those ages in England and Wales

| | Number of 3 to 5 year olds in school | Total number of 3 to 5 year olds | percentage of 3 to 5 year olds in schools |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1870 | 275,608 | 1,179,228 | 24.2% |
| 1880 | 393,056 | 1,339,826 | 29.3 |
| 1890 | 458,267 | 1,377,818 | 33.2 |
| 1900 | 615,607 | 1,428,597 | 43.1 |
| 1910 | 350,591 | 1,540,542 | 22.7 |
| 1920 | 175,467 | 1,147,685 | 15.3 |
| 1930 | 159,335 | 1,213,000 | 13.1 |

Consultative Committee on Infant and Nursery Schools, 1933:29.

As long as the elementary schools had the space and money, provisions were made for the under-fives. The demands of increased enrollment among the older children, though, put pressure on schools to limit the number of under-fives to be admitted. Along with the increasing number of compulsory school-aged children attending elementary schools came an increased concern over the health and mental development of the under-fives who were attending the schools (Board of Education 1905). In response to this increased concern for the young child's well-being and to the increased pressure of larger numbers of older children attending school, the Board of Education in 1905 allowed local education authorities to exclude under-fives, and in the years to follow, there was a reduction in the amount of available funds for nursery education (Whitbread 1972: 65). The resulting decline in under-fives attending elementary schools after the turn of the century can be seen in Table I.

During the early part of the twentieth century, there was increasing pressure to create nursery schools for the nation's young. Nursery schools were seen largely as a remedy to many of the health and medical problems of young children; but except for a few nursery schools established by private enterprise (such as that set up by Rachel and Margaret McMillan) and a temporary increase in government-funded nurseries during World War I, no government funds were made available for nursery schools until 1919 (Bathurst 1905, Consultative Committee on Infant and Nursery Schools 1933, Whitbread 1972). Despite recommendations by the Board of Education, the Ministry of Health, and the Consultative Committee on Infant and Nursery Schools (1933) that local authorities expand their services to preschoolers, there was little expansion until the mid-1930's when the rate of unemployment began to drop steadily and the effects of a lower birth rate on the school population were felt (Table II).

Table II: Children under five in maintained and aided schools*

| | Children in infant and elementary schools | | Nursery Schools | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Aged 3 and 4 years | As a percentage of the age group | Number of under 5s | Number of schools |
| 1930 | 159,335 | 13.1% | 1,431 | 30 |
| 1933 | 156,164 | 13.1 | 3,277 | 58 |
| 1935 | 165,854 | 14.2 | 3,747 | 65 |
| 1936 | 159,642 | 14.0 | 4,234 | 79 |
| 1938 | 165,203 | 15.9 | 5,666 | 103 |

*From Board of Education, Annual Reports and Statistics, cited in Whitbread, 1972:79.

The first part of the twentieth century saw the formation of two distinct types of pre-school provision which have had a lasting effect on the delivery of child care services today. Two types of nurseries were forming -- one which stressed the child's health and physical needs and one which stressed educational and social needs. These nurseries divided along social class lines with the lower-class child attending the health-oriented day nursery and the middle-class child attending the more educationally-oriented nursery school or kindergarten (Whitbread 1972: 53-72). These two types of provision were the interest of two quite distinct groups -- the medical and nursing professions and the educationalists. This separation (in terms of philosophy and social class) was institutionalized at a governmental level when in 1918 the Education Act "empowered local education authorities to establish nursery schools or classes and aid voluntary schools, and the 1918 Maternity and Child Welfare Act empowered local welfare authorities to set up day nurseries and to grant-aid voluntary nurseries" (Tizard, Moss and Perry 1976: 69). This administrative separation has continued to the present time, and is one of the greatest obstacles to creating a comprehensive, coordinated child care system in England.

During World War II, local authorities were offered 100 percent grants from the Ministry of Health to set up new nurseries. This policy of expansion was a response to the need for mothers to work to support the war effort and to a growing concern over the quality of available child care services. Because of the lack of administrative coordination between the various services available to under-fives at that time, there was some difficulty in formulating a national policy (Tizard, Moss, Perry 1976: 71-2). Eventually, the desire to unify the delivery of services to all preschoolers within one agency and the inability of the Board of Education to accept responsibility for children under two (particularly, the special health and medical needs of under-two's) led to the Ministry of Health being designated as the agency responsible for administering the war-time nurseries (Ferguson and Fitzgerald 1954). This was viewed as a victory for the day nursery approach in which health was of prime importance and education was secondary (Whitbread 1972: 102). The Ministry of Health, though, was advised by the Board of Education on the educational component of day nurseries (and by the Ministry of Labour on the areas in which the nurseries should be established) through the establishment of an informal committee. This cooperation between the Ministries broke down after the War, as there was (and still is) no legal requirement that the services of each ministry be coordinated (Tizard, Moss, Perry 1976: 71-2).

The expansion of day nursery services to preschoolers during the War was rapid. In England and Wales, the number of nurseries increased from 194 in 1941 to 1,559 in 1944. At the peak of nursery provision in the early autumn of 1944, 209,623 preschoolers were being provided care -- 71,806 in day nurseries, 6,227 in nursery schools, 28,650 in nursery classes, and 102,940 in reception classes within public elementary schools (Ferguson and Fitzgerald 1954: 190).

In 1945, because of the need to provide day care for the children of working mothers during the War, there were 1,300 day nurseries but only 75 nursery schools. Despite the creation of more day nurseries, the war-time nurseries scheme did not expand provision of nursery schools and classes beyond the pre-war level -- 171,869 children were provided for in 1938 (Board of Education 1938 in Whitbread 1972: 79) and 137,817 in 1944 (Ferguson and Fitzgerald 1954: 190). Yet, the desirability of nursery education was increasingly being accepted and advocated. The Hadow Report in 1933 had recommended an expansion of nursery schools, and the late 1930's did see a slow growth in this area (Table II).

The nursery school was viewed by educators as aiding in the child's physical, mental, and social growth. In a 1943 report, The First Stage in Education, the Nursery Schools Association wrote:

> No home can provide all the child needs after the period of dependent infancy, if he is to grow adequately in mind and character as well as in physique. For this period the nursery school should be the natural extension of the home and in its home-like informality provide an all-round education...Many children who begin school at the age of five suffer considerable check in their physical and mental development--while they go through the painful process of learning, often too late, how to adjust themselves to the social life of a group of children (Nursery Schools Association 1943: 3, quoted in Whitbread 1972: 103-4).

In addition, the government's White Paper on Educational Reconstruction (1943) stated:

> It is now considered that the self-contained nursery school, which forms a transition from home to school, is the most suitable type of provision for children under five. Such schools are needed in all districts, as even when child-

> ren come from good homes they can derive much benefit, both educational and physical, from attendance at a nursery school. Moreover, they are of great value to mothers who go out to work, and also to those who need relief from the burden of household duties combined with the care of a young family. It is, however in the poorer parts of the large cities that nursery schools are especially necessary. The authors of 'Our Towns', in describing the conditions which were brought to light by the evacuation of 1939, said that nothing had impressed them so often or so deeply as the need to multiply these schools in the poor quarters of the towns, from which they should spread and be provided for the children of all parents who desire to use them. There is no doubt of the importance of training children in good habits at the most impressionable age and of the indirect value of the nursery school in influencing the parents of the children. There is equally no doubt of the incalculable value of the schools in securing medical and nursing care, and the remedial treatment of defects which may be difficult to eradicate if they are left untreated until the child enters school in the ordinary way at the age of five (as quotes in van der Eyken 1973: 385-6).

The 1944 Education Act, incorporating the recommendations presented in the White Paper, required that local education authorities "have regard...to the need for securing that provision is made for pupils who have not attained the age of five years by the provision of nursery schools or...classes" (Education Act 1944: section 8-2-b) and specifically that in submitting their development plans to the Ministry of Education, local education authorities should "give particulars of the arrangements made and proposed to be made by the authority for meeting the needs of pupils who have not attained the age five years" (Education Act 1944: section 11-2-e). Thus, by the close of the War, there was a philosophical commitment as well as a legislative requirement to provide nursery education. What was unclear from the Act was how universal and widespread this provision should be (Whitbread 1972: 105). As a result of this ambiguity and other political and economic pressures, there was no significant expansion of nursery education until the Urban Aid Programme started in 1969.

Also, at the end of the War, the Ministry of Health was advocating the use of nursery schools and classes and discouraging the use of day nurseries except under exceptional circumstances. The Ministry of Health in a circular issued in 1945 stated that it accepted

> ...the view of the medical and other authority that, in the interest of the health and development of the child no less than for the benefit of the mother, the proper place for a child under two is at home with his mother. They are also of the opinion that, under normal peacetime conditions, the right policy to pursue would be positively to discourage mothers of children under two from going out to work; to make provision for children between two and five by way of nursery schools and nursery classes; and to regard day nurseries and daily guardians as supplements to meet the special needs (where these exist and cannot be met within the hours, age, range and organisation of nursery school and nursery classes) of children whose mothers are constrained by individual circumstances to go out to work or whose home conditions are in themselves unsatisfactory from the health point of view, or whose mothers are incapable for some good reason of undertaking the full care of their children (Ministry of Health Circular 221/45 as quoted in Tizard, Moss, and Perry 1976: 73).

This statement illustrates some of the assumptions which form the basis of several contemporary issues in the provision of preschool services. The circular reflected the Ministry's belief that:

(1) there is a body of professionals who know the best way to rear young children, (2) under the age of two years, care by anyone other than the mother is harmful, (3) day care is beneficial or necessary only under special circumstances, and (4) nursery education is good for everyone (Tizard, Moss, and Perry 1976: 74).

As it was government policy to expand the number of places in nursery schools and classes and to decrease the number of places in day nurseries, many of the war-time day nurseries were transferred to local education authorities in 1946 to be operated as nursery schools. The Ministry of Health also stopped awarding 100 percent grants to create nurseries as the need for women to work declined with the return of male veterans to the labor force. By 1947, there were 902 day nurseries and 353 nursery schools (Ministry of Education 1949: 31). This transfer of responsibility for nursery provision from Health to Education had two effects: (1) working parents had to make private arrangements for their children because schools kept shorter hours and had longer vacations than day nurseries and (2) except for a small number of children in day nurseries, the age at which public provision of pre-school services began was raised from two to three years, since nursery education was viewed as inappropriate for under-three's.

By the end of the War, nursery education was viewed as desirable for all children between the ages of three and five years. Below that age, it was the belief that children should remain with their mothers. Care within day nurseries was seen as necessary only in extreme circumstances, such as needs of the country, unsatisfactory living conditions, and personal inadequacy. The distinct purposes of the day nursery and of the nursery school remained organizationally segregated by the Ministry of Health administering day nurseries and the Ministry of Education administering nursery schools. A legislative obligation to provide nursery schooling, though to what degree was unclear, had been made by the 1944 Education Act, and yet, despite plans of local authorities to increase the provision of nursery education, little expansion occurred.

After World War II, a variety of social changes were occuring which effected the role of women, in particular, and ultimately the care of young children.

> Advances in technology and changes in the nature of industry and commerce in mid-century also contributed to new social patterns of equal relevance. Most important was the trend for more married women to work, and for them to do so in a much greater variety of occupations outside the home. Labour-saving domestic appliances, the design of modern homes and developments in the canned and frozen food industries combined to make it easier for them to make time for an outside job, and meant that many mothers found being a housewife was no longer a full-time occupation; and a generation of mothers who had benefited from secondary education, including a rising number who were further qualified, was likely to demand the satisfaction of at least a part-time job. During the war it was government policy to draw married women into the labour force, and after the war industry and commerce continued to need them (though to a lesser extent). Inflation and aspirations to raise family living standards further encouraged reliance on two incomes among working- and middle-class families (Whitbread 1972: 106-7).

In particular, between 1931 and 1951, the number of married working women had tripled (Yudkin and Holme 1963: 21), the number of women in part-time employment had increased by 25 percent, and the number of women in professional occupations had increased by 35 percent (Whitbread 1972: 107).

In addition, the increased birth rate after the War not only created a greater demand (at least in absolute numbers) for preschool services, but placed pressure on schools to accommodate the population bulge before expanding other services. This population bulge was complicated by a shortage of teachers and a lack of classroom space which continued to exert a pressure against the expansion of nursery education into the 1960's.

The educational reforms which took place after the War "were intended to remove some of the stigmas attached to lower-class education, provide a new pattern of opportunity, and set education in a framework of improved welfare and justice" (Lawson and Silver 1973: 421). Based on the Beveridge Report on Social Insurance and Allied Services (1942), national insurance, family allowances, national health, and improvements in old age pensions were enacted. Along with this "new pattern of opportunity" began a push for universal secondary education and a more equitable distribution of educational opportunity (Lawson and Silver 1973: 421). Government inquiries focused on secondary education during this time -- the Spens Report (1938), the Norwood Report (1943), and the Crowther Report (1959) -- and the age at which compulsory education ended was raised to fifteen by the 1944 Education Act. Thus, while the 1944 Education Act had created a legislative requirement to provide nursery education, the expansion of secondary education received priority. The raising of the school leaving age to fifteen as well as the increasing number of children remaining in school past the age of fifteen, created additional pressures on the space and staff of schools and diverted attention away from nursery education.

In addition to the increased interest in providing universal secondary education, an ideology stressing the importance (almost sanctity) of the mother-child relationship developed during the post-War years. The publication of John Bowlby's Maternal Care and Mental Health for the World Health Organization in 1951 marked a high point in the maternal deprivation ideology (Boss 1973: 372). On the basis of research on young children in total institutional care, such as orphanages, Bowlby provided empirical evidence that was interpreted to support the notion that any separation of the child from the mother would cause serious harm to the child. Despite the evidence against Bowlby's notion of maternal deprivation (Rutter 1972), this belief in the importance of not separating young children from their mothers aided in the justification to cut down on public expenditures for pre-school programs. The ideology of maternal deprivation is still employed today (Thomas 1977) as a justification of a variety of policies -- for example, part-time over full-time nursery education, nursery education after but not before the age of three, and playgroups over nursery schools. Particularly during the 1950's, and to a lesser degree the 1960's and 1970's, the notion of maternal deprivation worked to keep the number of women in the labor market low, to increase the proportion of part-time working women (separation from one's child for part of the day was acceptable), and to keep women at home to reproduce.

Along with these ideological and economic pressures against the expansion of nursery education was the 1948 Education Act and a series of circulars from the Ministry of Education which explicitly forbade any increase in the number of nursery school places made available, and except for some minor exceptions (such as providing nursery school places for children of teachers in order to attract and keep these women working in the schools), this policy was in effect until 1973 (Department of Education and Science 1975: 2). The 1948 Education (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act defined the statutory age for admission as "the term after that in which they reach their fifth birthday." Although earlier admission was still at the discretion of the head, many schools were able to ease the shortage of teachers and space by admitting five-year-olds one term later than was the previous practice (Whitbread 1972: 111). In August of 1954, the Ministry of Education issued Circular 280 which stated "the Minister will expect the admission of children under five to be restricted or prohibited where their admission would stand in the way of a reduction in the size of over-large classes". Again in 1956, the Ministry reiterated (in Circular 313) that the admission of under-fives must not hinder the reduction in the size of classes in primary schools or the finding of adequate staff for secondary schools. Local authorities were asked to limit the number of children under five in the primary schools (excluding children reaching the age of five during their first term) and not exceed the corresponding number for the year 1955-1956( Ministry of Education, 1957: 12).

In May 1960, the Ministry of Education issued Circular 8/60; this time banning the increase in provision of nursery education beyond the 1956-1957 level. The circular explained that

> The White Paper on Secondary Education for All issued in December, 1958, announced a five-year programme devoted principally to the improvement of secondary education and also emphasised the urgent need to reduce the size of classes in both primary and secondary schools. No resources can at present be spared for the expansion of nursery education and in particular no teachers can be spared who might otherwise work with children of compulsory school age (para. 4).

Besides having the effect of preventing any increase in nursery education provision, Circular 8/60 marked a shift in the form nursery education would take in the years to come. On the basis of economic pressures, though later adopted ideologically as educationally desirable, part-time rather than full-time nursery schooling was suggested.

> During and immediately after the war one of the main purposes served by nursery schools and classes was to release mothers of young children for work of national importance. To serve this purpose it was necessary for nursery education to be full-time.
>
> The Minister believes that it is now widely understood that nursery education, in common with all primary and secondary education of which it forms a part, is provided in the interests of the children. The aim is always to meet the needs of the particular child.
>
> It is arguable that the needs of normal children under five years old, coming from normal homes, are more likely to be for part-time than for full-time education. With this in mind, a number of authorities have for several years organised some of their nursery schools and classes wholly or partly on a two-shift basis...

> These arrangements were made in the first place as experiments, but they have proved very successful and are now firmly established in a number of places. The Minister feels that the time has now come to bring the possibility to the attention of authorities generally and to encourage them to consider whether to introduce similar arrangements in some of their nursery schools and classes where conditions are suitable.
>
> The advantages of such arrangements are easily seen. At best, the effect is to provide, without any additional staff, twice the number of children. The Minister is particularly attracted by the possibility which is opened of providing appropriate nursery education for children from normal homes, who have so often in the past had to yield to children in difficult circumstances for medical or social reasons (para. 8-12).

During the 1950's and 1960's, not only was there no expansion in the provision of nursery education, but the number of places in day nurseries dropped (see Table III). After the war, it was thought that the need for women in the labor force would decline and that children under the age of two should be cared for by their mothers in the home:

> Since 1956, the provision of day care facilities has been left increasingly to individual health authorities but without statutory obligation. Policy, and therefore provision, varies from area to area. Despite a rising birth rate between 1956 and 1963, and an increase in the number of women going out to work, the number of day nurseries continued to decline sharply (Pringle and Naidoo 1975: 77).

The ideology of maternal deprivation as well as the belief in the benefit of nursery education is seen in Circular 37/68 of the Department of Health and Social Security (the department ultimately responsible for day nurseries):

Table III:

*Day nurseries, private nurseries and child minders in England and Wales, 1945-1974*

| YEAR | DAY NURSERIES | | | PRIVATE NURSERIES | | | CHILD MINDERS | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | No. of places | % population aged 0-5 yrs | No. | No. of children | % population aged 0-5 | No. | No. of children | % population aged 0-5 yrs |
| 1945 | 1,300 | 62,784 | | – | – | | – | – | |
| 1946 | 914 | 43,618 | | – | – | | – | – | |
| 1947 | 902 | 42,365 | | – | – | | – | – | |
| 1948 | 882 | 41,065 | | – | – | | – | – | |
| 1949 | 910 | 43,395 | | 250 | 6,893 | | 271 | 1,703 | |
| 1950 | 884 | 42,410 | | 326 | 8,965 | | 415 | 2,638 | |
| 1951 | 832 | 40,410 | 1.1 | 339 | 9,872 | 0.3 | 468 | 3,506 | 0.1 |
| 1952 | 797 | 38,078 | | 373 | 10,316 | | 560 | 4,178 | |
| 1953 | 724 | 34,705 | | 391 | 10,773 | | 638 | 4,737 | |
| 1954 | 628 | 30,091 | | 413 | 11,296 | | 715 | 5,570 | |
| 1955 | 583 | 28,024 | | 443 | 11,679 | | 777 | 6,090 | |
| 1956 | 547 | 26,109 | | 464 | 12,018 | | 881 | 6,964 | |
| 1957 | 526 | 25,014 | | 496 | 12,543 | | 949 | 7,536 | |
| 1958 | 501 | 23,676 | | 544 | 13,352 | | 1,138 | 8,981 | |
| 1959 | 486 | 23,048 | | 543 | 13,155 | | 1,313 | 10,192 | |
| 1960 | 477 | 22,564 | | 601 | 14,595 | | 1,531 | 11,881 | |
| 1961 | 472 | 22,259 | 0.6 | 747 | 17,618 | 0.5 | 1,780 | 13,999 | 0.4 |
| 1962 | 462 | 21,876 | | 932 | 22,591 | | 2,202 | 17,600 | |
| 1963 | 459 | 21,672 | | 1,243 | 31,045 | | 2,597 | 20,800 | |
| 1964 | 455 | 21,532 | | 1,585 | 38,144 | | 2,994 | 24,000 | |
| 1965 | 448 | 21,396 | | 2,245 | 55,543 | | 3,393 | 27,200 | |
| 1966 | 445 | 21,157 | 0.5 | 3,083 | 75,132 | 1.8 | 3,887 | 32,336 | 0.8 |
| 1967 | 444 | 21,169 | | 4,382 | 109,141 | | 039 | 42,696 | |
| 1968 | 445 | 21,163 | | 5,849 | 146,098 | | 5,802 | 47,208 | |
| 1969 | 444 | 21,142 | | 8,467 | 203,093 | | 18,168 | 70,531 | |
| 1970 | 453 | 21,581 | 0.5 | 10,043 | 248,883 | 6.2 | 25,595 | 84,861 | 2.1 |
| 1971 | | | | | | | | | |
| 1972 | 467 | 22,580 | 0.6 | 11,924 | 295,960 | 7.7 | 29,191 | 90,036 | 2.4 |
| 1973 | 493 | 23,838 | 0.6 | 13,397 | 335,332 | 9.0 | 30,333 | 91,878 | 2.5 |
| 1974 | 517 | 24,772 | | 14,843 | 362,320 | | 30,552 | 86,954 | |

Sources: Yudkin (1967) to 1965; DHSS Annual reports 1966 to 1970; No figures for 1971; Health & Personal Social Service Statistics for 1972; Local Authority annual returns for 1973. (Tizard, Moss, and Perry, 1976:231)

> ...whenever possible the younger pre-school child should be at home with his mother, and the needs of older pre-school children should be met by attendance at nursery schools or classes. Accordingly the Minister considers that the responsibility of local health authorities should continue to be limited to arranging for the day care of children who, from a health point of view or because of deprived or inadequate backgrounds, have special needs that cannot otherwise by met (as quoted in Pringle and Naidoo 1975: 77-8).

Day nurseries, because of their long hours, are used largely by working-class families; yet because of the limited number of places available, working mothers have increasingly had to turn to child minders to find care for their children (see Table III). Although child minders are required to be registered with local authority social service departments, many child minders are unregistered; thus, the exact number of children cared for by minders is unknown. It is estimated that perhaps over 300,000 children are being cared for by illegal child minders (Tizard, Moss, and Perry 1976: 79, Pringle and Naidoo 1975: 84-5, Jackson 1971).

While day nurseries and child minders have tended to attract children from working-class families, middle-class families, have made use of the limited number of nursery schools and classes, the increasing number of private nursery schools, and the increasing number of playgroups (see Table III) (Tizard, Moss, and Perry 1976: 75-81).

> Private nursery schools only very partially filled the gap in maintained pre-school provision as the fees charged made them largely the preserve of the middle class. Parents of the professional middle class, among whom the quality press and the paperback publishers found a receptive market for articles and books on child development, began to seek nursery education for the year or two before their child's fifth birthday entitled him to start infant school. Widening opportunities for married women to resume or take up professional careers, and economic pressures for a second income, acted as further incentives. The private sector responded during the 1960's by greatly increasing part-time places, especially for three- and four-year-olds, in day preparatory schools and departments and nursery schools (Whitbread 1972: 114).

One of the most significant developments in the delivery of child care services is the playgroup movement. Playgroups were created to compensate for the inadequate provision of nursery school places.

> Established almost single-handed by a mother of young children in 1962, ten years later it had 7,000 local groups catering for some 200,000 children between the ages of two and five years.
>
> Initially, playgroups were run entirely by mothers themselves who worked in rotation, a fee being charged for each child to cover the cost of equipment and overhead expenses. However, by now more than half of them have a qualified supervisor.
>
> It was inevitable that the Association was largely providing facilities for children from middle-class homes, not least because of the nature of the whole concept and the method of organisation. Furthermore the groups function for a few hours only, either mornings or afternoons, and not during the school holidays; the requirement of active maternal participation and

> the fees charged...also present obstacles to many working-class mothers (Pringle and Naidoo 1975: 99-100).

While the Pre-school Playgroup Association (PPA) had originally seen playgroups as a temporary substitute for insufficient provision of nursery education, by the early 1970's the association had become ambivalent and sometimes hostile towards the expansion of nursery schooling.

> ...some playgroup leaders now fear that parents on their waiting lists will switch to new nursery schools or classes. They have been advised by PPA's national adviser to write to Mrs. Thatcher to complain about local authority plans. Their argument is that parent involvement, which has developed with the playgroup movement and has valuable spin-offs will be lost (Grey 1974: 21).
>
> The Playgroup Movement, for instance, explaining why they favor playgroups rather than nursery schools, also point out that playgroups are mother-initiated, that mothers are obliged to attend with their children for certain days each week, and that there is less of a school atmosphere (Ironside 1972: 18).

By the mid-1960's, there was a stagnation in the public provision of nursery schooling and day nurseries; the segregation of social classes into different child care services was maintained (middle-class families tending to use nursery schools, private nurseries, and playgroups; working-class families tending to use day nurseries and child minders); and there is little coordination between the various services at either the local or central government level. The post-war population bulge had moved out of the schools, and there began to be a loosening up of the restrictions placed on nursery education.

The Department of Education and Science in its annual report for 1964 wrote:

> Since the war it has not been possible to allow local education authorities to extend their provision for children below compulsory school age in nursery schools and classes, mainly because it was felt that any worthwhile provision was bound to absorb teachers badly needed in the primary schools. The general restriction remains in force, but in July the Department announced arrangements under which authorities were allowed to start new nursery classes where they were satisfied that this would lead to a net increase in the teaching force by enabling teachers with young children to come back into service (Department of Education 1965: 52).

During the 1960's, an increasing number of women with young children were working outside the home. In 1961, 12 percent of the women with children under five in England and Wales were employed outside the home. In 1971, the corresponding figure was 19 percent (1971 census as cited in Moss 1976: 7). The majority (65 percent) of these women worked part-time, but among non-married women with children under five, 56 percent work over 30 hours per week (1971 census as cited in Moss 1976: 9). Thus, there was an increasing need for both part-time and full-time nursery care.

In addition to the needs of working women, middle-class women, often through the women's movement, began to push for an expansion of services to preschoolers (Whitbread 1972: 132). The National Campaign for Nursery Education -- an umbrella organization which includes the Nursery School Association, the Pre-school Playgroup Association, Save the Children Fund, and a number of women's groups --

was established in 1965 and aided in bringing the public's attention to the need for preschool services. The care of preschoolers had always been an issue (see, for example, Williams 1959, Rawling 1960, Wheeler 1961), but its importance gained during the 1960's, particularly with the publication of the Plowden Report (Central Advisory Council for Education 1967).

> Today even more people are recognizing nursery education as being desirable--even M.P.s; when the House of Commons debated primary education seven years ago, no one mentioned the subject; yet in the recent Plowden debate, no less than 12 of the 16 members who spoke emphasized its importance. There is also a general belief among educationalists--now strikingly reinforced by the Plowden Report--that nursery education can benefit every child (Howe 1967: 1949).

An increasing amount of research was being carried out in the area of early childhood -- e.g., Bernstein (1961), Whitbread (1972: 132), and with the establishment of the Plowden Committee in 1963 to study the whole area of primary education, there appeared to be a shift within the field of education away from an emphasis on secondary education. In 1963, the Central Advisory Council for Education, chaired by Lady Plowden, was established to examine "primary education in all its aspects and the transition to secondary education." The Council was established not to look at a particular problem or issue, but to inform the Department of Education and Science on how the best opinion viewed the education service and its problems over time.

> No parliamentary questions had been asked seeking an enquiry into primary education for at least some years before the Committee was appointed, although questions had been asked concerning some

> of the main issues which the Committee discussed--such as the lifting of restrictions on nursery education (Kogan 1973: 169).

In an article, "The function of the Central Advisory Council in educational change," Maurice Kogan argues that the role of the Plowden Council and other Central Advisory Councils is to legitimize rather than introduce new ideas about education and policy.

> The Plowden Report contained 197 recommendations. They included the provision of universal nursery education, the changing of the compulsory ages of entry to full-time education and of transfer to junior (or middle) and secondary education, the creation of educational priority areas and many other important recommendations. Many of these recommendations were already being evolved within the education service. But the Plowden report picked them up, studied them, added the weight of evidence from the education service and from research, and codified them into a plan for a better if not a revolutionized, primary education service. Some proposals were new. Others had been the stock in trade of education conferences for twenty years.
>
> Finally, these reports between them came at precisely the right time to legitimate new thinking about the relation between education and society and, particularly to reinforce current changes in official thinking about selectivity in all stages of education (Kogan 1973: 166).

Assuming Kogan's assessment to be correct, an examination of the Plowden recommendations can provide insights into the conception of nursery education in England at that time.

With particular regard to preschoolers, the Plowden Report recommends that a large expansion of nursery education should occur and that nursery schooling should be available to all that request it. There are two qualifiers, though. One, nursery education should be for children who are above the age of two. And two, except for about 15 percent of the children who need full-time education, nursery education should be part-time.

The push for nursery education is based on two issues -- the educational, social, and health benefits to preschoolers and the increasing number of mothers entering the labor force.

> There is a wide measure of agreement among informed observers that nursery provision on a substantial scale is desirable, not only on educational grounds but also for social, health and welfare considerations...
>
> Our conclusions are that many mothers will work, and that their children will, as a result, need places in nurseries. And since, in the absence of positive steps to stop it, the numbers of mothers working will increase, it is possible to offset the contribution made by married women workers against the costs of providing nurseries (Central Advisory Council for Education 1967: para. 296, 305).

There exists some hesitation to push for full-day education as the place for young children is thought to be with their mothers in the home.

> Prolonged and early separation from mothers is known to be disadvantageous, but a short absence during the day does not harm the child who is ready for it...
>
> Since it is harmful to remove a child too suddenly or for too long from his mother, part-time attendance should be the normal pattern of nursery education (Central Advisory Council for Education 1967: para. 305, 317).

For an estimated 15 percent of the three- to five-year-olds, full-time nursery education should be provided. The 15 percent figure is based on an estimate of the numbers of full-time working women with children between three and five, the number of children whose home circumstances are poor (e.g., come from large, overcrowded, or one-parent homes), and the number of children whose mothers are unable to care for their children adequately.

Probably the most significant aspect of the Plowden Report is its recommendation that educational priority areas be set up in which extra resources were diverted to alleviate the special problems of these areas. It was within these priority areas that nursery education was to be expanded first, and with the creation of the Urban Aid Programme in 1969 came an increased amount of funds to these areas. In an effort to compensate for problems such as those experienced by children who are retarded, disturbed, handicapped, unable to speak English, who live in overcrowded conditions, and who come from incomplete families. The Plowden Committee was the first government report to advocate positive discrimination in favor of the under-priviledged. This conclusion was reached during the same time that Richard Titmuss (1967) and others were arguing the issues of universality and selectivity.

The Plowden recommendations were not acted on by the government until 1972, though several research projects were set up to examine ways of improving educational opportunities and standards in educational priority areas (Halsey 1972). Shortly after the Plowden report was published, the Urban Aid Programme was set up by the Local Government Grants (Social Need) Act, 1969. While the Urban Aid Programme did not grow out of the Plowden recommendations, it did come out of the same ideological shift in favor of positive discrimination. Money through the Urban Aid Programme was made available to local authorities who "are required in the exercise of any of their functions to incur expenditure by reason of the existence in any urban area of special social need". Social need was not defined by the Act, but it generally meant

> ...multiple deprivation in urban areas distinguished by such characteristics as poor housing, high unemployment, poor schools, large families, high proportions of children in care or in trouble, high levels of immigrants.
>
> In each phase of the Urban Aid Programme, circulars were issued to local authorities outlining the sort of projects that would receive priority... Nursery education and day nurseries received high priority from the beginning...from 1968 to 1973, nursery education, day nurseries and playgroups in England and Wales received over £13 million out of the £31 million available... By 1975 a total of 24,000 nursery school or class places had been created under the Urban Programme (Tizard, Moss, and Perry 1976: 84).

In 1972, the government White Paper, Education: A Framework for Expansion, accepted the conclusions and estimates given in the Plowden Report that most children's needs could be met through part-time education and that places should be available to all three- and four-year-olds whose parents wanted them. By 1982, 50 percent of the three-year-olds and 90 percent of the four-year-olds were to have nursery school places. The White Paper reiterated Plowden's argument that the "majority of educationists regard part-time attendance at school as sufficient, indeed preferable, for most children until they reach compulsory school age" (Para. 25).

In 1973, the Department of Education and Science issued Circular 2/73 to local authorities which put into practice the principles of the White Paper. £15 million a year was made available for the expansion of nursery education. By 1975, 20.4 percent of the children two to four were being provided nursery education though part of this increase is due to the increased number of part-time pupils as well as a dropping birth rate (see Table IV based upon data from the Central Statistics Office 1976: 116).

Table IV: Children aged 2 to 4 years in schools in England and Wales*

| | Total number of children 2 to 4 years old | Number of children 2 to 4 years old in schools[1] | Percentage of 2 to 4 year olds in schools |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1965 | 2,380,000 | 238,000 | 10.0% |
| 1966 | 2,446,000 | 239,708 | 9.8 |
| 1967 | 2,506,000 | 243,082 | 9.7 |
| 1968 | 2,527,000 | 260,281 | 10.3 |
| 1969 | 2,524,000 | 277,640 | 11.0 |
| 1970 | 2,476,000 | 294,644 | 11.9 |
| 1971 | 2,427,000 | 320,364 | 13.2 |
| 1972 | 2,356,000 | 355,756 | 15.1 |
| 1973 | 2,310,000 | 397,320 | 17.2 |
| 1974 | 2,283,000 | 429,204 | 18.8 |
| 1975 | 2,217,000 | 452,268 | 20.4 |

*From Central Statistics Office, Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1976:116.

[1] The number of children 2 to 4 years old in schools was calculated by taking the percentage of 2 to 4 year olds in the total population that attended school.

During the same period that the Plowden Report was published, the Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services, under the chairmanship of Frederic Seebohm, published its Report (1968) on local authority social services. In discussing services to children under five, the Report stresses the ill effects of a fragmented and uncoordinated child care delivery system.

> At present, services for children under 5 mainly involve three separate local authority departments. The children's department may receive children into care at the request of their parents or on the order of the courts, for long or short periods, and place them in foster homes, residential nurseries, family group homes or in homes or nurseries run by voluntary organisations. The health department provides maternity and child welfare services, which may include day nurseries, and has responsibility for supervising registered child minders with whom children are placed privately by their parents. The education department is responsible for local authority nursery schools and nursery classes in infants' schools. Other departments may also be involved: the parks department may provide play spaces and play leaders, and some housing departments maintain play facilities on their estates. Some authorities give grants to voluntary organisations to provide pre-school play groups and similar schemes.
>
> There is, however, no direct statutory responsibility on local authorities to provide for the general social care of children in this age group. As a result facilities are uneven and in many parts of the country quite inadequate. There are also many anomalies; for instance, a local authority nursery school place is free but there is a charge for a health department day nursery place (Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services 1968: para. 192-3).

Despite acknowledging the lack of administrative coordination of services, the Committee ultimately approved the status quo in the provision of preschool services.

The Report also argues for an expansion of day nursery places, as the expansion within nursery education is not seen as meeting the special needs of children with working mothers, social handicaps, and other disadvantages. Later in 1968, Circular 37/68 from the Ministry of Health gave approval, though with financial constraints, to the expansion of day nursery places. Priority was given to children "with only one parent; who need temporary day care on account of the mothers' illness; whose mothers are unable to look after them adequately because they are incapable of giving young children the care they need; for whom day care might prevent the breakdown of the mother or the break-up of the family; whose home conditions constitute a hazard to their health and welfare; whose health and welfare are seriously affected by a lack of opportunity to play with others" (Tizard, Moss, and Perry 1976: 86-7). And by the 1970's, the provision of day nurseries began to rise (see Table III).

By the mid-1970's, there is an increased interest in the pre-school child. With the surplus of teachers and a declining birth rate, the expansion of nursery education has become more feasible, and with the increasing number of working mothers, the need for nursery education/care has grown. The government has made an ideological commitment to the provision of nursery education and the ideology of maternal deprivation has shifted slightly. Before the age of three, children, it is thought, should be with their mothers; and between the ages of three and five, short periods of separation are all right. But increasingly, educational policy-makers are beginning to examine the desirability of providing part-time nursery education in light of the rising number of working mothers.

Educators are beginning to question their concern for the well-being of the pre-school child during just part of the day and not be concerned with the child's welfare during the rest of the day. In Bradford, for instance, a metropolitan planning committee has suggested that nursery schools and classes experiment with more flexible hours and that they remain open over the holiday periods (Key Issues Team 1977: 53). Yet, the maternal deprivation ideology is still strong, and England is just beginning to experience a shift in its philosophy of nursery education.

The government has increased its spending on nursery schools and classes as well as day nurseries, though the present economic crunch has temporarily cut the available funds significantly, but there is still a fragmentation of services, and no immediate effort is being made to coordinate the various child care services. The mushrooming of the playgroup movement creates a further pressure against not only expansion of nursery schools and classes, but against any move to coordinate and unify pre-school services within one department.

Barbara Tizard, in an article appearing in the Times Educational Supplement, summarizes the current issues in the delivery of pre-school services:

> What is in dispute today is not the need for early child education and care outside the family, but whether an expansion of nursery schooling as organised at present is the best way of meeting these needs. The doubts fall into four main heads. First nursery schools offer no help to the under three's and their families, yet there is evidence (for example, from the incidence of baby battering) that it is these families which are under most stress. Second, most nursery schooling takes the form of a two-and-a-half hour session. This, together with the long school holidays, makes it useless to even

a part-time working mother. Third, since the mother's role usually ends at the school door, little is done to alleviate her feelings of isolation and inadequacy, or to draw her into the educational activities of the school.

Finally, it seems doubtful whether the present educational practice of the nursery school adequately meets the intellectual and linguistic needs of many children (Tizard 1975: 21).

## References

American Federation of Teachers
1976 Putting Early Childhood into the Public Schools. AFT.

Bathurst, Katherine
1905 "The need for national nurseries," Nineteenth Century and After (May): 818-24.

Bernstein, Basil
1961 "Social structure, language and learning," Educational Research 3 (June).

Board of Education
1905 Reports on Children under Five Years of Age in Public Elementary Schools, by Women Inspectors. London: HMSO.

1943 Educational Reconstruction (White Paper). London: HMSO.

Boss, Peter
1973 "Day care for the preschool child: Policy and Practice in England and Wales." Pp. 370-85 in P. Roby (ed.) Child Care--Who Cares? New York: Basic.

Bowlby, John
1951 Maternal Care and Mental Health. Geneva: World Health Organization.

Central Advisory Council for Education
1959 15 to 18 (Crowther Report). London: HMSO.

1967 Children and their Primary Schools (Plowden Report). London: HMSO.

Central Statistics Office
1976 Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1976. London: HMSO.

Committee of the Secondary Schools Examinations Council on Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools
1943 Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools (Norwood Report). London: HMSO.

Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services
1968 Report of the Committee. London: HMSO.

Consultative Committee on Infant and Nursery Schools
1933 Report of the Consultative Committee on Infant and Nursery Schools (Hadow Report). London: HMSO.

Consultative Committee on Secondary Education
1938 Secondary Education (Spens Report). London: HMSO.

Department of Education and Science
1965 Education in 1964. London: HMSO.

1972 Education: A Framework for Expansion. (White Paper) London: HMSO.

1975 "Nursery education," Reports on Education 81 (January).

Ferguson, Sheila and Hilde Fitzgerald
1954 Studies in the Social Services. London: HMSO.

Grey, Eleanor
1974 "Can my mummy come too?" Times Educational Supplement 3063 (February 8): 21.

Halsey, A. H.
1972 Educational Priority: EPA Problems and Policies. Vol. I. London: HMSO.

1973 "The governmental response to Plowden." Pp. 189-205 in G. Fowler, V. Morris, and J. Ozga (eds.) Decision Making in British Education. London: Heinemann/Open University Press.

Howe, Elspeth
1967 "The under-fives: Nursery schools and Plowden." Times Educational Supplement 2716 (June 9): 1949.

Ironside, Virginia
1972 "Minding the four million," Times Educational Supplement 2971 (April 28): 28.

Jackson, Brian
1974 -------------Guardian (July 23).

Key Issue Team, City of Bradford Metropolitan Council
1977 The Under Fives 1977. Bradford, England: City of Bradford Metropolitan Council.

Kogan, Maurice
1973 "The function of the Central Advisory Council in educational change." Pp. 161-88 in G. Fowler, V. Morris, and J. Ozga (eds.) Decision Making in British Education. London: Heinemann/Open University.

Lawson, John and Harold Silver
1973 A Social History of Education in England. London: Methuen.

Ministry of Health
1945 Circular 221/45.

Ministry of Education
1949 Education in 1948. London: HMSO.

1954 Circular 280.

1956 Circular 313.

1957 Education in 1956. London: HMSO.

1960 Circular 8/60.

Moss, Peter
1976 "The current situation." Pp. 6-38 in N. Fonda and P. Moss (eds.) Mothers in Employment. Uxbridge, England: Brunel University Management Programme.

Musgrave, P.W.
1972 Society and Education in England since 1800. London: Methuen.

Nursery Schools Association
1943 The First Stage in Education.

Pringle, Mia Kellmer and Sandhy Naidoo
1975 Early Child Care in Britain. London: Gordon and Breach.

Rawling, M.
1960 "(Young children 2 - 8) A combined part-time and full-time nursery school," New Era in Home and School 41 (September/October): 165-8.

Rutter, Michael
1972 Maternal Deprivation Reassessed. Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin.

Steinfels, Margaret O'Brien
1973 Who's Minding the Children? The History and Politics of Day Care in America. New York: Touchstone.

Thomas, Gillian
1977 "The Robertsons: Champions of the under-threes," Where 129 (June): 168-9.

Tizard, Barbara
1975 "Beyond the nursery," Times Educational Supplement 3126 (April 25): 21.

Tizard, Jack, Peter Moss, and Jane Perry
1976 All Our Children, Pre-school Services in a Changing Society. London: Maurice Temple Smith.

van der Eyken, Willem (ed.)
1973 Education, the Child and Society: A Documentary History 1900 - 1973. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin.

Wheeler, J. Helen
1961 "The nursery school in contemporary society," Forum 4 (Autumn): 29-31.

Whitbread, Nanette
1972 The Evolution of the Nursery-Infant School. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Williams, M. P.
1959 "Day nurseries and the pre-school child," Forward Trends 3 (Summer): 13-5.

# Parent Participation at a Primary (Infant and Junior) School

by

Howard Rubin

As a recent article, concerned with "the sort of information on schools which should be made available to parents" (The Teacher 1977: 16) indicates, the issues of parent participation in local schools and the relationship between the school and the home are still present and being discussed. A British sociologist, Olive Banks (1968: 124), notes that "American sociologists are deeply interested in educational decision-making in the local community and the number of such studies in Britain is also now rising. In spite, therefore, of significant gaps in our knowledge, the empirical grounds for a study of the politics of education at the community level is under way." Admittedly, educational decision-making and political involvement are only one aspect of community participation in local schools, but, nevertheless, the point is clear: more empirical research is needed to gain an understanding of community involvement in local schools. Another researcher predicts that "more documented, scientifically carried out accounts should appear within the next ten years" (Goodacre 1970: 34).

When investigating community participation in local schools one must remember an important shift in the history of the Western industrialized, urban world and in education. Just as home and work have become increasingly separate, "Western society has apparently decided, for better or worse, to educate its children outside the home in separate, self-contained single purpose establishments."

However, although the home and the school are separate places, "there is a considerable upsurge of interest in the relationship between home and school" (Haigh 1975: vii). The crucial issue, therefore, is how and to what degree these two institutions should be interconnected. The role or responsibility for educating children, at least in a formal sense, has been given to the schools, and yet at the same time, parents may desire to retain some involvement in the formal learning of their children.

An addition, whether community participation, at any level, is considered a political or democratic right and or necessity (Fantini 1973: 180), an additional source of legitimation for the school (Raggatt et al. 1974: 93), or a component of a child's educational achievement (Central Advisory Council for Education 1967: 37) there seems to be a trend towards greater parent involvement in the running and accountability of schools (Fantini 1973: 181). Also, "there is a growing trend to encourage and involve the public in a more active consultation and participation in politics, social services, consumer affairs, education and so on" (Raggatt, et. al. 1974: 119). Moreover, this author would suggest that the meaning of encouragement, involvement and participation, as perceived by the social actors, are some of the key questions to be answered in an examination of the relationship between the school and the community.

Many other researchers (Haigh 1975: 78, Rintoul and Thorne 1975: 127, Pluckrose 1975: 69, Locke 1974: 153, Murrow and Murrow 1971: 252-253 and Goodacre 1970: 24) have recognized and documented the general trend towards increased parent participation in local schools. This involvement may range from helping children do homework to being a member of a school governing body. This desire for a closer association and communication between the home and the school was brought to the attention of the public, media and professionals by the now well known Plowden Report. As Locke (1974: 153) notes, "The Plowden Report was the watershed that provided educational, social and political arguments for greater parent involvement." Indeed, Plowden did look at the state of parent participation in local schools and made recommendations as to the future direction this relationship should follow. These general recommendations, based on its National Survey, included the following statements:

> Teachers are linked to parents by children for whom they are both responsible. The triangle should be completed and a more direct relationship established between parents and teachers. They should be partners in more than name; their responsibility becomes joint instead of several. (Central Advisory Council 1967: 30).
>
> Parents' interest is likely to be greater in the children's early years at school when they are more confident about helping children in their work. (Central Advisory Council 1967: 34).
>
> All schools should have a programme for contact with children's home to include:
> a) arrangements for more formal private talks, preferably twice a year.
> b) a regular system for the head and the class teacher to meet parents before the child enters.
> c) open days to be held at times chosen to enable parents to attend.
> d) special efforts to make contact with parents who do not visit the schools.
> (Central Advisory Council 1967: 42).

> Schools should develop a close, warm and supporting relationship with parents. Active invitation, active encouragement of parent engagement with the school and active school service to parents is urged. (Central Advisory Council 1967: 41).

While Plowden proposed these somewhat loose or vague guidelines, others viewed parent participation and relationship between the community and the school on a broader basis. This may include such things as the use of the school by the community after hours (i.e., for clubs, local meetings), the utilization of the school as a social centre, book exhibitions, regular meetings to discuss educational issues, talking with children in the classroom, listening to children read in school, or reading to a group of children (Pluckrose 1975: 69-70, Rintoul and Thorne 1975: 127). These are in addition to more traditional service roles wherein parents have been utilized by the school, such as accompanying the school on field trips and for fund raising activities. Lillian Weber, in her book, The English Infant School and Informal Education (1971: 100) noted that "in most infant schools the door was open and the parents came in with the children, sometimes to ask questions, sometimes to see something a child wanted to show. They talked with the head; they knew the teachers. In some schools they joined in the Morning Service on a regular basis; many schools were used in after-school hours by community or parent groups." Pluckrose, a teacher by vocation and training, more emphatically states "parents should not be merely financial milch cows but also organisms for community development and change, as well as for mounting the summer fete and the Christmas fair" (Pluckrose 1975: 69).

One researcher has also discussed the "many faces" or various levels of participation and the different types of relationships between the community and the local school (Fantini 1973: 180). He describes five relationships and it is probable that, in reality, a combination of these following types are experienced and can be discovered: 1) participation for public relations, 2) participation for instructional support, 3) participation for community services, 4) participation for crisis resolution, and 5) participation for accountability and school governance. Yet another researcher has presented the two following roles within which parents can participate: 1) ancillary and 2) auxilliary. Ancillary "help" is exemplified by such activities as covering books, putting readers in order and fixing audio and visual equipment. Also, "another direct service which parents can give is to help with school trips" (Haigh 1975: 80). On the other hand, auxilliary assistance includes such things as parents talking with children, listening to children read or reading to children in the classroom. The use of "parents as auxilliaries opens up a debate about professionalism and dilution" (Haigh 1975: 81). However, as Pluckrose (1975: 69) states, "it is the teacher (the professional) who is structuring the situation within which the visitor works," and should thereby, not threaten their professional status. In fact, "adults can be quite an asset to the school and can give their skills and support and, in turn, the parents will better appreciate the content of the school" (Pluckrose 1975: 68-69). The relationship between the community and the school can be mutually beneficial.

In light of this previous research, this paper intends to describe parent participation within a particular British primary Junior and Infant School. The relationship between the school and the parents will be examined as will the role of parent involvement and the opportunities provided within their local school. This will not attempt to cover activities which are "external" to the school itself, such as school governing boards or parent participation on a national or regional level. The focus of this research will be limited to events and opportunities within the school and those in connection with the school. The data will be analyzed so as to better understand the complex relationship between the parents and the school as well as the factors which are believed to either enhance or limit parent participation. Finally, a small section will be devoted to a description and analysis of the importance of the perceived autonomy of the school upon the possibly conflicting demand for parent involvement. For as one researcher summarized, "this has a profound effect on the kinds of actions possible by parents" (Locke 1974: 61).

## Research Procedures and Limitations

The placement at and entree into the School was arranged prior to this author's arrival in Great Britain. The field work extended over a five-week period and included forty hours in an infant classroom with children between five and seven years of age, twelve hours on field trips, five hours at parent meetings, three hours at a

"Beetle Drive"[1] to raise money, and twelve hours at a holiday play centre at the school. Observations were recorded, with an emphasis placed upon the role of parents within these settings and their relationship with the school and its staff. Besides informal conversation with parents and the staff, during the school day, on field trips, in the school lounge and at meetings, formal interviews were completed with two "mums" or mothers so as to obtain a sense of the perceptions held about the school and the role of parents within the school. As previously stated, only those activities within and in connection with the school were examined -- the events within the specific infant class as well as those for the entire school. Only visible forms of involvement, such as meetings, events and daily school patterns were recorded, while the more "invisible" forms of participation were not investigated. Although entree was already provided, there were some unexpected difficulties which subsequently arose during the field work and are worth mentioning.

---

[1] "Beetle" is a game where the object is to be the first person to complete a drawing of a beetle on a sheet of paper. It is played with a large number of people and four people sit at a table with two white sheets and two blue sheets, on which the scores are kept. Each part of the body, for example, the head, is worth a certain number of points (for example, the head = 5 points). The total number of possible points, in this version, is 39 points. In order for a person to start the game, a 6 must be rolled on the die. This 6 allows a person to draw the body of the beetle and receive 6 points. The players play as individuals and the first person to complete the drawing of the beetle screams "beetle" and wins the game. Twelve games are usually played. The other players then add up their points at the moment and enter this score on their sheets. For example, a body = 6 on the die = 6 points, the head = 5 on the die = 5 points, the tail = 4 = 4 points, the legs (6 of them) = 3 on the die = 3 points, feelers (2 of them) = 2 = 2 points each, and the eyes (2 of them) = 1 = 1 point each. Then the person at each table with the highest total among the two people with the blue sheets moves clockwise to the next table and the person with the highest game total among those with the white sheets moves counterclockwise to the adjacent tables. After twelve games have been completed, the scores are added and the person with the highest grand total wins a prize. An admission fee is charged (15 pence = 26¢ for adults and 10p = 17¢ for children) and home baked food is also sold.

As the work progressed it became more apparent that the length of the stay did not permit a fuller exploration into a wider range of activities nor did it allow one to collect more data from varied sources. Also, the time of the school year within which these observations were noted is the end product of a long process. The relationship between the school and the community has been formed through months of gaining familiarity and becoming comfortable with one another. Expectations about behavior had been established and observation at the end of term only are evidence of the outcome of a year-long process.

There also was a sense of uneasiness about this observer's presence among the staff at the school. They had been told, by Mr. W, the headteacher, that "American visitors" were coming to the school as they said they had expected us and often said "oh, yes." The first day in the school a "chat" was held with Mr. W to "sort out" the period of observation at the school and to discuss the research area and the general organization of the school. When Mr. W was told that community participation at the school was being examined, he replied "There is much of that around here especially since there are no other social centres around here." A tour of the school was lead by Mr. W and he said "afterwards, feel free to go wherever and whenever you want." The rest of the first day was spent in a junior level class and notes were taken in the classroom. During an afternoon break there was a mention of uneasiness about "the never ending notetaking." Jokes were told about this and Mr. W concluded, "Americans don't believe it unless it is written down." Mr. W drove this observer and two colleagues to the school and on the second morning he said that the staff had discussed "those notetaking Americans." He also invited us to join two infant classes on a field trip, which this observer did. Notes were also written on the bus ride and during the trip and when we returned to the school, one of the junior class teachers asked "Was Howard writing notes all day?" to which the answer was affirmative. The following morning the teacher of one of the classes who went on the trip was asked "could I join your class?" and she replied with slight hesitation or reluctance, "sure, that would be fine." When this observer entered her teaching area she approached and asked "will you be taking notes?" By this time I had decided that the practice was not beneficial to the overall research aims or to establishing rapport with the staff. Therefore, the answer was "no, except for a brief sketch of the area," which actually was done in a toilet outside the classroom. Later, however, she told this author about the problems of a girl who lives with her grandmother and asked "would you like to talk about any children or anything?" At the conclusion of this half day visit the teacher, Mrs. H inquired "when are you coming back and are you going to take notes?" even though no notes were written in her classroom today. The observer said "I will be here again tomorrow and next Tuesday and am not planning to take notes in the classroom -- I did not today, either."

The teacher's behavior vascillated. On the one hand, questions such as "are you going to be in the class today?", "are you taking notes" and comments like "aw, shucks" were common following the expression of this observer's intention and schedule. Yet, on the other hand, Mrs. H encouraged interaction with the children, asked the writer to tell the class about Independence Day, inquired whether the researcher had anything he wanted to do with the children, discussed the advantages of the writer working with the older children, talked to the observer about the school, education and her personal life. The sense of uneasiness seemed to decrease over time, as Mrs. H was increasingly amiable and there were fewer questions about research interests or notetaking.

The final days were quite pleasant and Mrs. H accommodated the desires of the observer. Whether she was uncomfortable with the presence of an outside observer, wary of possible notetaking, insecure with herself or her teaching, unsure of the research interest, wondering if this author was examining the content of her teaching, or worried about any combination of things, her behavior seemed to fluctuate until she felt a bit more comfortable about such matters. She seemingly was worried about the presence of this observer yet would discuss the school, the children, the class, or the aims of this research. Also, this author was understandably denied permission to attend parents' night due to the private nature of these individual conferences.

## The Research Setting

The School is located on a suburban housing estate in a town between two larger cities, Bradford and Leeds, in West Yorkshire. The estate consists of private homes and what is called "council housing." Council housing is provided by the local housing authority for rent or sometimes, for later purchase by the residents. This observer discovered three types of homes within the estate. First, there is the "council housing," which consists of two storey buildings with a greyish concrete or stone wall facade. There are rows of these two to four family units, which have one large yard. Many of these look in need of repair - broken windows, or window frames, and chipping and deteriorating walls. Secondly, there are newer, red brick, private homes. These are two stories and are one or, at most, two, family dwelling unites. These homes have well kept private gardens and most have driveways or garages. Finally, there is the oldest housing of the estate, that was built fourteen years ago. They are two stories high and are concrete covered with stone or brick around the front side of the building. These two family dwelling units look newer than the other council housing, although they are not, and have private yards. Some of these homes have been bought by the residents from the council, while others continue to be rented. These three types of housing are distinctly separate and the school is found in the centre of this estate.

While the headteacher had reiterated that "there are no social centres on the estate and the school is trying to serve this role," there is in fact, the Shick Lane Sports and Social Club and Institute, Ltd., for use by the residents of the estate. It is around the corner and down the street from the school and is in the middle of the housing estate. Right down the road is a Pub, which as Mr W noted, is where many people go on Friday nights. There is also a fish and chips shop, a block of small stores and a couple of parks within four blocks of the school.

The school itself is a junior and infant mixed school, that includes children from the ages of five through eleven. It is a five year old, one-storey, square building with grass play areas in the front and back of the school. It was originally planned for 250 children and now has 404 students enrolled. It is a "semi-open planned" school with seven permanent teaching areas and four temporary classrooms next to the main building. The permanent areas are usually separated by curtains and there are, often, "quiet areas" between two teaching areas. In the infant classroom for five to seven-year-olds, where these observations were made, there is a door, through which people enter the classroom from outside. There is a coat area as one enters as well as a sink and two toilets in this space adjacent to the teaching area. The "quiet area," where books were shelved, stories were read, and the register was taken is across the corridor separated by a curtain, and faces the central plaza area in the middle of the square shaped school. In the teaching area, there are bulletin boards of the children's work as well as displays prepared by the teacher, Mrs. H. There are plants, a fish tank, tables and chairs, the teacher's desk, and classroom materials, such as readers, math books, crayons, paper and pencils, in the classroom, also.

### Informal Relationships Between Home and the School

One of the first observations of the infant class revealed one aspect of an informal relationship between home and school. Each day, some children were accompanied to and from school by an adult, who was usually a mother or "mum." As one walks through the corridor where the infant classes are located, an average of seven to nine mums could be seen walking children to and from school and remaining outside the classroom. Some of these mums were also joined by younger children and babies in prams or baby carriages. During six days of recording this activity only three fathers and one couple -- a man and a women -- were observed bringing the children to school, while no fathers were seen at noon and only one man was noticed upon the return of an infant class from a field trip, at the end of a school day. Most of these adults walk to school in groups of two or three and talk to each other on the way to school. A small number walk alone and some were seen in the coat areas or classrooms talking amongst themselves or with a teacher. As Haigh (1975: 8) noted "the morning and evening are the times when young children are accompanied to school by their mothers." This author would further suggest that fathers accompanying children to and from school is, indeed, an unusual occurence.

Moreover, there was what this observer would consider, a core group of participants in school activities, engaged in such activities as bringing children to and from school, field trips, holiday play centre meetings, a Jubilee Garden Party for the children, and the holiday play centre. In Mrs. H 's classroom, four mothers regularly entered the coat area and helped their children take off and put on their coats and change their shoes. (The children wore "pumps" or soft canvas shoes so as to maintain a lowest possible noise level in the semi-open planned school.) Often three of these four mums would enter the teaching area and talk to the teacher or this writer. These conversations were about either school matters, such as making an appointment for parents night or to discuss the Jubilee Party, or simply social small talk.

## Parental Involvement in School Functions

On Tuesday, July 29, 1977, two infant classes, consisting of 61 children, went to the Hareford House and Bird Garden to see and learn about birds as well as to walk through a royal mansion that belongs to Lord Hareford, the Queen's cousin. The children wrote and drew pictures about their experience. There were eight mothers who joined these classes and three of them were the mums who were seen in Mrs. H 's classroom each day. During this trip the mums were seen sitting together on the coach and talking to one another while the children played on an adventure playground, before the house tour was undertaken. Perhaps these mums used the trip to have contact and socialize with other mothers. It is also interesting that on a similar trip taken by a junior class to Temple Newhouse and Museum, only one mum accompanied the class of 35 children and no parents were waiting for them upon return. Later that evening, there were fifteen parents who attended a meeting concerned with the holiday play centre, fourteen of whom were women and two of whom were play centre group leaders. The one father was, also, one of the designated group leaders and three of the women went on the field trip earlier that day.

A couple of weeks later, on Friday evening, the 15th of July, the Beetle Drive was held to raise money for the holiday play centre. Thirteen mothers came, four or five of whom were either on the field trip or at the first play centre meeting. Eleven of these mums played "beetle" with the children and had "a super time," while the other two mothers prepared the bake sale and other refreshments.

On the last Tuesday of term, July 19, 1977, there was a Jubilee Party for the infant classes and fourteen mums came to help serve the food and clean up. This author had observed that ten of these women had either gone on the field trip, attended the first play centre meeting, accompanied their children to and from school, gone to the Beetle Drive or participated in any combination therein. During the party, one mum said to this writer, "Here we are again -- drives, functions, it's the same old group." Also, the morning of the party the following conversation between this observer and another mum occurred in the coat area of Mrs. H 's classroom:

> Mum: Are you excited about this afternoon?
>
> Observer: Oh, you mean the Jubilee Party.
>
> Mum: Yes
>
> Observer: Oh, yes, I am looking forward to it. Will you be here?
>
> Mum: Yes, me and Mrs. S are coming. (she turns to another mum, Mrs. M). Are you coming Mrs. M?
>
> Mrs. M: Yes.
>
> Mum: (to the author) The same bunch of mothers always come to these things.

The second play centre meeting was held later that evening and twelve mums and no fathers, outside of the group leader, attended this activity. Seven of these mothers either went on the field trip, attended the first play centre meeting, accompanied their children to and from school, helped at the Jubilee Party earlier in the day, or were seen at several of these events. Prior to the meeting the following dialogue with a teacher who was running the play centre transpired. The exchange occurred in the school hall, where the meeting was to be held and where he was preparing the tea:

Observer: Things look all set and ready to go.

Teacher: I don't expect many parents.

Observer: Why not?

Teacher: We'll just be going over final details - not broad appeal. It's just really for those who've said they'd help during the week.

Observer: How many children are signed up so far?

Teacher: Around 160.

Observer: How many parents have volunteered to help?

Teacher: About 35.

It is interesting that although the meeting was just for the helpers, only one third of the helpers attended the meeting. Finally, at the holiday play centre, once again the same faces appeared to assist in its operation. These findings are summarized in the following table.

Not only are the majority of participants in these activities women but it is also the same ten actors who are most involved in their children's education (i.e., participated in three or more of the above activities). There was another woman who attended the first meeting and was well known by everybody present, as evidenced by their calling her by her first name, and who seemed to be a community leader. The headteacher, Mr. W, even stepped away from a group of mums with whom he was chatting, said "hello, R, " went to where she sat down and talked with her. During a break she commented to this author, "There are the same faces, the same people who are always involved." She also worked as a lunchtime helper, in the school, but was ill for the last month and, therefore, did not participate in

## Table I

## Record of Parents Participating in School and Related Activities

| Parents | HHBG | PCM I | ACS |  |  |  |  |  | JP | PCM II | BD | PC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  | 7/1 | 7/5 | 7/12 | 7/14 | 7/15 | 7/19 |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | + | + |  |  |  |  |  |  | + | + | + | + |
| 2 | + |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3 | + |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | + |  |  |  |
| 4 | + |  |  |  | CA<br>+ | CA<br>+ | CA<br>+ | CA<br>+ | + |  |  |  |
| 5 | + |  |  |  | TA<br>+ | CA<br>+ | CA<br>+ | CA<br>+ | + |  |  |  |
| 6 | + | + | + | + | TA<br>+ | CATA<br>+ | CATA<br>+ | CA<br>+ | + | + |  | + |
| 7 | + |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | + |  |  |  |
| 8 | + |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9 |  | + |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10 |  | + |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | + | + |  |
| 11 |  | + |  |  |  |  |  |  | + | + |  | + |
| 12 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | + |  |
| 13 |  |  | + | CA<br>+ | CA<br>+ | CA<br>+ | CA<br>+ | CA<br>+ |  |  |  |  |
| 14 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | + |  |
| 15 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | + |  |
| 16 |  | + |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | + | + | + |
| 17 |  | + |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | + |  | + |
| 18 |  | + |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | + |  | + |
| 19 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | + |  | + | + |
| 20 | + |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | + |  |
| 21 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | + | + |
| 22 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | + |

HHBG = Hareford House and Bird Garden
PCM = Play centre meeting
ACS = Accompany children to/from school
JP = Jubilee Party
CA = In coat area
BD = Beetle Drive
TA = In teaching area
PC = Play Centre

any subsequent events. This finding was also corroborated by two mum's who were interviewed. When asked, "Do you see the same group of parents coming to school activities?" they responded, "yes, it's always the same people for everything," and "yes, it's always the same group of mums." They also mentioned the fact that "there are always the same faces...the same old group," several other times during the interview. Earlier that day, one of the teachers who is a group leader at the play centre said, in response to an inquiry about how many parents might attend the meeting, "I really don't know. A letter was sent to the parents whose children might or will attend the summer play centre, asking them to come to the meeting. The intent was to get more people involved -- more than the same few and maybe even some fathers." It seems this core group of participants is recognized by many people in the community and the school.

Some opportunities for parent or community involvement are provided by the school. First, there are two parent nights per year, which enable parents to discuss the children's progress with the teachers. Second, as two Mums interviewed said, "We are always getting newsletters. They keep you up to date on everything that's going on... what's happening at the school. There are plenty of newsletters about one thing or another. I look in the mail and say 'oh, not another one.'" At the first play centre meeting, Mr. W, the headteacher noted that "my letters are notorious" and the parents all laughed. A teacher told this observer "he sends many letters and tries to include much information." This writer saw many letters, which were asking for participation, addressed to parents. For example, one informed the parents about a new date for a "jumble sale" (i.e., a rummage or white elephant sale) and provided a slip for three different types of possible help, which was to be signed and returned to the school; another letter invited the parents to make appointments with their children's teachers for parents' night; yet another asked for help at the holiday play centre; and one expressed the school's plan for a Jubilee Garden Party. This letter said the school would provide "sweets" and snacks but asked the parents to send "enough buns, cakes and biscuits (cookies) for one child." The concluding statement read "as on previous occasions we would be very grateful for offers to help prepare the food and clean the tables and wash up after the party," and included a slip to "tick" (i.e., check off) and return, if food is being sent or if the parents, ostensibly the mums, were willing to help.

Quality or Type of Participation Encouraged

This brings us to the next significant, more subtle and intricate, and, possibly, controversial finding, which is the quality or type of participation that is encouraged by the school and undertaken by the community. As previously mentioned, generally, mums accompany children to and from school, join the classes on field trips, help at the play centre, attend meetings, are involved in activities related to fund raising, or go to parents' night. This observer, did not, as some researchers (Pluckrose 1975: 69-70, Rintoul and Thorne 1975: 127, Haigh 1975: 80-81, and Weber 1971: 100) suggested, see parents inside Mrs. H 's teaching or quiet area during the day, talking to children. The school did not have any PTA meetings during this period of observation and the school was not open to the public as a social centre for the community, although this is the stated desire of the headteacher. There are no clubs, outside group meetings, or lounges within the school after school hours. This author would even claim that the School does not "see parents on a broad basis," to borrow the words of Henry Pluckrose (1975: 68). Obviously, parents are involved to some extend, but this participation is kept "light " (Fantini 1973: 184).

The first play centre meeting, which began at 8:00pm and lasted one hour and fifteen minutes, was exemplary of the, more or less, "passive" role of parents within a context dominated (amount of time talked as well as the number and kind of decisions made) by the headteacher. No doubt Mr. W is possibly the most knowledgeable person in this situation but there were teachers present and mums who had worked at previous play centers. At the meeting, which was held in the school hall, 31 adult size chairs had been arranged (although only 15 parents came) and there was a table in front of these chairs, with three chairs behind this table. The head and two other teachers sat at this table. Mr. W opened the meeting with an apology for the late date of their meeting and the organization of the holiday play centre. He said:

> This is the first step in planning for the centre; knowing if parents really want it and discussing the best dates. However, some arrangements have already been made -- out of necessity and in consideration of cleaners, caretakers and staff holidays and available dates. It was difficult to sort out the dates for the centre. It has been usual in the past to have two weeks of half days -- morning sessions only. This year it will be one week of full days. This is what other play centres

> have done, also. It will be the second week of the holiday -- two weeks after July 22, the last day of school. Now let's talk about finance. The Central Committee of Area Playgroups has given the centre a £35 ($61) grant and £45-50 ($78-87) has been allotted by the school budget. There is around £80-85 ($140-$150) to start.

He asked for comments after twenty-five minutes. One mum asked if the hours of the play centre are the same as school hours and Mr. W said they are the same hours. He inquired if these dates are "reasonable," nobody said anything for about 30 seconds and then one mum says "its perfect." Mr. W says "OK, then we can continue talking about finances."

This continues as Mr. W informs the meeting about the amount of money necessary to run the play centre (£200 or $350), says "a few fund raising efforts will be needed," "suggests" methods of fund raising and discusses the organization of the centre and the creche. He asked for ideas about activities and Mr. M read off a list of possibilities. Thirty-five minutes into the meeting mums began to discuss fund raising and possible activities for the play centre. A jumble sale and disco are decided upon by the parents and the headteacher. However, Mrs. J pointed out that a large number of people are going out of town on the weekend of the jumble sale. She suggests changing the date and Mr. W responds "good idea, R." Ideas for fund raising continue -- a beetle drive, a sponsored walk. Mr. W interrupts and says "Fridays are usually a good evening -- more people may come," and asks the parents "what do you think?" They nod and voice agreement. He then looks at his diary (calendar) and said "woman's day would be suitable for the disco -- the 15th of July." The mums nod approval and Mr. W said "there will be two events on two consecutive Fridays," as the jumble sale is to be held on July 8, 1977. He notes:

> I am not dictating and you should do whatever you want. This Friday is the Jubilee Concert and I would not be able to attend the sale, if it is held that night. There are only 30 students from the school involved in the concert and it won't necessarily rob many people, since most of the people who are going are those seeing their children. It also may be short notice to have it this Friday but the decision is up to the meeting. My own point of view is directed to July 8th.

A mum asks "what time?" and Mr. W says "they are usually from 7-9pm." A few more questions are asked and the headteacher called for a vote between Friday, July 1 and Friday, July 8th. Nobody voted to hold the sale Friday, July 1, while most of the hands went up for July 8, and eventually all the hands were in favor of the later date. Mr. W then estimated the amounts of money usually earned from these fund raising events saying,"We will pull the stops for two events" and the parents nodded approval. A short discussion about the equipment, those children eligible to attend the centre and the creche, continued. Mr. W reminded people about parents' night, the date of the next play centre organizational meeting and asks,"Do we need any more chat tonight or have we sorted out enough. If not we could continue after tea and if so the meeting could be over and you could chat amongst yourselves during tea." The mums are drinking tea and talking and the meeting is closed at 9:15pm by Mr. W.

Throughout this meeting, and in his usual manner, Mr. W was quite pleasant and talked with great ease, confidence,and apparent concern for either the play centre and/or his own desires. He seemed accommodating and flexible -- he even stated this a couple of times during the meeting -- although he, in fact, dominated the meeting. In the eyes of this observer, some decisions had already been made by Mr. W and were independent of the meeting. Not only were the parents, generally, quiet but the two teachers also did not talk much. Mr. W even said to one of them, "you aren't saying much tonight." The content and direction of the meeting were strongly guided by Mr. W, which a leader should do, but this writer sensed he did more than this. The parents accepted all of his decisions and "suggestions," especially since they were of some benefit to them and/or their children. The mums did speak up about ideas for activities and fund raising, as this seemed to be the primary focus of the meeting, the one area within which prior decisions were not made and the place for parent involvement was apparent. The dates of the play centre, the amount of money to be raised, the group leaders and so on had been decided by Mr. W before the meeting. Indeed, as a researcher noted, the situation wherein participation occurs is structured by the school (Pluckrose 1975: 69), and in this instance, the headteacher.

The Beetle Drive also provided an opportunity for parent involvement within the School. Eighteen tables had been arranged in the school hall and the corridor and four sheets of paper, to play Beetle, were on each table, as well as a die and a cup. Thirteen mums arrived for a total of nineteen adults, including Mr. and Mrs. W, three teachers and this writer. However, since there were not enough players for eighteen tables, only ten were used. This evening served two purposes, according to this observer. It was a part of the fund raising for the £200 necessary to run the play centre, as the disco was not able to be arranged, and it also was a "social activity," as one teacher noted. Yet there was a paradox that pervaded this evening. On the one hand, Mr. W had said during an initial meeting with this writer that since "there is no community centre on the estate I would like the school to serve this function." This position was reiterated several other times during these observations. However, at the same time, this social event was scheduled on a Friday night at 7:30pm, which Mr. W had "suggested" at the play centre meeting was a good time for parents, but, yet on the eve of this affair Mr. W twice said to this researcher that "more parents would come out if it was on Tuesday night. Friday night is a night to do whatever they want -- most go to the Pub." While acknowledging a desire for the school to be a social centre on an estate where he does not feel there are things for people to do, the event was scheduled for a now, admittedly inconvenient time, in conflict with the known social conventions of the community. Yet this was the night Mr. W "suggested" at the meeting and the mums silently approved. It is undoubtedly a complex issue. Also, it is feasible that the parents could have gone to the Beetle Drive and the Pub in the same evening. They had received letters in the mail about this event and since the activity lasted until 9:00pm there would have been time to "do whatever they wanted." This leads the author to believe that it is only a small proportion of the community that would ever become involved, at any level, at the School or utilize the school as a social centre. One mum interviewed did not feel the school could be a community social centre as most people "come home and that's it. They don't want to go back to the school." Another said "it could be if people gave more time." So it appears that even if the school decided to make efforts towards the school serving as a social centre, it would not necessarily be utilized or appreciated by the community and the efforts would be in vain. Perhaps this is one reason for the school not really operating as one now, assuming the school is aware of local sentiments. Yet Mr. W seems aimed at following this path or, at least this is the ideology that is presented, but, as a mum noted, "there are not many social events at the school for parents."

The Garden Jubilee Party, which was held on the afternoon of July 19, 1977 was, as stated earlier, another activity wherein parents could "help prepare the food and clear the tables and wash up after the party." During the morning, this writer was requested to play "the prince" in a game called "the sleeping prince" since Mr. W, who usually does this, would be away during the afternoon. This observer sat in the middle of the school hall, was blindfolded, had "sweets" placed on and around him, and tried to listen to the children as they came and attempted to take these "sweets." If a child was heard coming, this researcher would point towards the noise/child and the "sweet" would not be gotten or would have to be returned.

Fourteen mums arrived in the afternoon, some of whom went on field trips, accompanied the children to and/or from the school, went to the Beetle Drive or were involved in a couple of these activities. The children entered the hall and played "hot package," which is similar to hot potato, except there were "sweets" in the wrapped "package" and one was eaten by the child who held the "package" when the music stopped (piano played by a junior level teacher) and the wrapping was removed. Songs were sung by the children and "the sleeping prince" was played. After the game was over (i.e., all the sweets were gone), as the blindfold was removed and the author was receiving applause, mums were seen standing by the door between the corridor and the hall. They had probably finished their preparations and were watching the activities of their children. The children then went to the corridor, where tables were prepared with "sweets," and sat down to eat. After this, the children went out to the front of the school to play and sing. The mums were busily cleaning up and returning the tables and chairs to the classrooms. Then they went to the staff lounge and watched their children from there. Throughout this afternoon these mums were spectators, as opposed to participants, in the school activities.

As this data is reviewed it seems that the mums are happy with or enjoy their service roles. They were not asking or seeking an increased voice in the operation of the school and, in the words of Mario Fantini (1973: 184), "their role is kept light and their participation is for public relations. The parents are asked or invited to the school for scheduled events or requests for help." This is recognized and accepted by these mums and the school is said to be very willing to talk to them about problems or difficulties the children may be experiencing in school, according to the two mums interviewed. As one stated, "if they wanted me to be there they would ask me. I don't want to push myself into the school. ... If there are any questions, I can ring up the school, or go there and get to the bottom of it." The other added, "I help out when they ask," and "if you want to ask about things, she (Mrs. H ) is willing to answer."

Participation is encouraged in ways that are acceptable to the school and "the parents are made to feel the school has things under control -- they can feel confident that their children are in good hands and, therefore, there is little reason for any other kind of participation" (Fantini 1973: 184). The decisions are made by the school and the mums are happy to accept these decisions and respond to requests for help, because they feel the school is doing a good job, keeps them informed and is willing to talk to them about problems. Statements, such as the ones above, and "if the open planned school wasn't working out well, they would change it," "Mr. W lets us know how much money is in the PTA fund. He asks us where we would like the money to go, says its up to us, tells us the things that are needed" (another guide or suggestion), and "it's a good school, they're willing to talk, help parents," are all exemplary of this mutually beneficial and, possibly, assymetrical relationship. The two mums interviewed also mentioned that most of the people they talk with are pleased with the school.

At the School, one does not find parents being utilized in a more extensive "auxilliary" role, and "ancillary" or service help has been limited to mums accompanying children on field trips, helping the group leaders at the play centre, preparing and cleaning up after Jubilee Party, and activities related to fund raising. They were not seen talking with children in the classroom, listening to children read or reading to a group of children. There was not a use of parents as classroom aides or helpers. The utilization of parents on a wider basis does not seem unwarranted. For example, Mrs. H asked this writer to do woodwork with some children and told the observer three times about the infrequency of such work, due to the lack of extra help from adults for adequate supervision. This author talked with and watched the children while they worked. Surely, parents could supervise such activities. However, there are other factors that should be considered.

There is an economic factor and changing social pattern that may affect community participation in the School. This is the "trend for more married women to work and for them to do so in a much greater variety of occupations outside the home" (Whitbread 1972: 106). Whitbread (1972: 187) noted that "by 1961 one in three of all married women had jobs, either full-time or part-time." A more recent estimate of the proportion of working mothers was presented by a university lecturer. According to the census data of 1971, in Great Britain, 46 percent of all mothers with children who were five to ten years old (i.e., infant and junior school age) worked outside the home (Glandon 1977). As a result of this trend, it can be argued that there is a greater likelihood for participation at the School to decrease as the number of working mothers increases, of course, assuming mothers participate more than fathers, which has been the experience at the School. If the mums work during the day they are less able to be involved, save dropping the children off at school. By the end of the day they are tired and less likely to become involved in events after school hours, as claimed by one mum. If they work during the evening, there will probably be the necessity to sleep during the day and, hence, these mothers will be less likely to be involved in school activities. Also, if they are responsible for or share the household responsibilities, there will not be much time remaining for participation in the school.

As one mum said "I would lose too much money if I miss one night of work," when asked if she would be attending the second play centre meeting. She works Monday through Thursday and on one Friday evening she did come to the Beetle Drive. Both of the mums interviewed work part-time jobs. One works four nights per week cleaning at the local bank and on Friday evenings works at the local maternity hospital as a nursery aide. The other is employed two nights every week at a fish and chips shop. They both said there is a commonly shared attitude in the community that it is difficult to work and be involved at the school and one added, "most mums don't bother going up to the school. It's hard to find time," They also stated that "the majority (of mums) get evening work. ... I think so, they get little jobs." One thought "they have to make ends meet" and the other said "they have to in order to have the little extras they want. Also, it does me good to get out of the house, even to be away for a few hours." This last remark is also a stated reason for joining the classes on the field trips. There seems to be little time for these working mums to be involved in more activities or in more involved forms of participation that require a great amount of time. It is difficult for them to belong to a school governing board or be a member on a PTA committee, as one mentioned.

Finally, another relevant factor that probably has consequences for the role of parents and the relationship between the community and the school is the perceived autonomy and separate or distinct nature of the school. Both mums interviewed felt that "parent participation is encouraged," via the newsletters, said that the community could be a resource of knowledge and skills for the school, told this author that they would be willing to listen to children read in the classroom but claimed that the school is "definitely" a separate place. One mum emphatically stated, "oh, yes, it really is," and said "that's (helping the children) what the teacher is there for." However, she admitted "they could use the help" and it would benefit the children but she did not believe that unsolicited help was necessary. In fact, she said, "I never really thought about visiting or helping in the classroom," and that "I don't know how the school would react to such requests." Such activities are not perceived possibilities for one mum, who helps when it is requested by the school. Another "didn't want to push herself into the school" and would help only "if they're desparate" and if they asked for assistance. It would need to be a crisis situation for her to help in the classroom, as opposed to a normal occurence. She told this author that she had not visited or observed in the classroom, either. Parents asking to visit or help in the classroom is not seen to be an asset but is perceived as an intrusion upon this separate institution, unless this involvement is invited, organized and requested by the school.

Also, Mr. W, at a final meeting with the students of the British Field Studies Program, said "there is a problem with this (parents in the classroom)," when the program director mentioned that the day before this meeting she saw the first parent in a British classroom, at another school, who was working with some children on art projects. The director continued, "it has usually been service roles before -- outings, to and from school. The teacher is defining the role for the parent. Why isn't there more utilization of parents, especially with 30-35 children in a class." Mr. W replied,

> Once in a while parents help with baking or cooking. I don't want to and haven't encouraged parents into the reading situation, although this may help the student. The staff has been especially sensitive about this and it is always discussed at meetings. The feeling is that listening to children read is only a part of reading -- listening and teaching is a thin line. There really is no answer. It simply must be considered with great sensitivity.

Another headteacher felt it is important for children to talk with adults and does "encourage mothers to help with handwork." Mr. W added:

> One must remember the historical attitude about parents and the school. They would drop the children off, leave them at the gate and get no nearer. We are trying to break this down. There is an age-old feeling that the parents drop off the children and the rest is up to the school; what happens is left to the school. There used to be signs saying no parents beyond this point.

While the physical signs may have been removed, the symbolism and belief that the school is a distinct place, apart from the home, remains. This perception must have an effect on the amount and types of involvement thought to be possible. It is a controversial issue and no easy solution seems to be in sight or mind.

Indeed, the relationship between the Junior and Infant School and parents is complex and subtle. There are a core group of participants (i.e. mums) who are always involved in service roles, such as accompanying children to and from school, joining the classes on field trips, preparing and cleaning up after the Jubilee Party, helping out at the play centre and school fund raising activities. While opportunities for this involvement are provided by the school, there does seem to be room for gains in the utilization of parents within the school. Parents could be used as playground supervisors, as a piano player or the prince at the Jubilee Party, as a person to talk with children, read, somebody to read to the class and people to help with woodworking or baking. This involvement in the school and in the education of these parents' children can be useful to the parents, the school and the children. All of this would not necessarily conflict with the professional status of the teacher and the headteacher, as the school orders the activities of parents. The school is the decision-maker that the parents willingly follow and accept. They are pleased with many aspects of the school, such as the staff, the information about the school sent to them in newsletters, and the adequate response they receive from the school when problems arise. Also, they are satisfied with the type of involvement they presently have. This author believes this contributes to their willingness to allow the school to carry on as it wishes and remain supportive of such decisions. Other types of participation are, thus, not deemed necessary and the fact that there is not much time for more and different types of participation contributes to the present situation, as does the perception of the school as a separate place. However, let this writer point out that the School is not doing a "bad job" with respect to parent participation but there may be room for improvement which will also shorten the distance between the ideology and practices.

If this investigation was to be furthered and expanded by future research, it would be useful to examine the process through which the relationship between the school and the community is established and negotiated and to research other facets of parent participation. Of course, one would like to speak with many parents who are not involved in the local school, but it would also be beneficial to talk to a larger group of people about their perceptions of the school and the role of the parents within the school.

## References

Banks, Olive
1968 The Sociology of Education. London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd.

Central Advisory Council for Education
1967 Children and Their Primary Schools (The Plowden Report). London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Fantini, Mario D.
1973 Community Participation: Many Faces, Many Directions. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Glandon, Nancy
1977 Sexism in British Education. Bradford: Lecture presented on June 29, 1977.

Goodacre, Elizabeth
1970 School and Home. London: National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales.

Haigh, Gerald
1975 The School and the Parent. London: Pittman.

Locke, Michael
1974 Power and Politics in the School System: A Guidebook. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Murrow, Casey and Liza
1971 Children Come First. New York: Harper and Row.

Pluckrose, Henry
1975 Open School, Open Society. London: Evans Brothers, Ltd.

Raggatt, Peter (ed )
1974 Whose School. London: Open University Press.

Rintoul, K. and K. Thorne
1975 Open Plan Organization in the Primary School. London: Ward Lock Educational.

The Teacher
1977 DES Wants Views on School Facts for Parents. London: Schoolmaster Publishing Co., Ltd.

Weber, Lillian
1971 The English Infant School and Informal Education. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc.

Whitbread, Nanette
1972 The Evolution of the Nursery-Infant School: A History of Infant and Nursery Education in Britain, 1800-1970. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

# Pre-School Services in Britain: Ideology with a focus on the Compensatory Education and Availability Leeds Women's Aid Refuge Playgroup

by

Jennifer Wallace

## I. The Research Problem

The care of children ages 0-5 in Great Britain has long been a concern of parents, the government, educators and reformers. The question is, then, when care of children becomes a priority of those groups. What ideological foundations have formed the bases for government support of services for children 0-5, both historically and currently? A review of the history of services for under-fives in Britain suggests that there have been two reasons the government has provided care: (1) when it was economically feasible for the government to do so (i.e., during wartime) or (2) when it was hoped that the state would produce a literate proletariat (Whitbread 1972).

If government attitudes have been historically shaped by economic or selfish motives, and if decisions about education of young children have not historically been made because of the child's needs (Kitwood and Macey 1977: 41) how is contemporary preschool care for under-fives justified, advocated, and provided? Ever since the question of care for under-fives became a social reality, there has been a division between providing education and simply providing care. This is reflected in the multitude of services for preschool children available in Britain today, which retains the division of education and of child care.

This conflict is especially pertinent to the question of compensatory education, and services for the economically and culturally disadvantaged child (Tizard 1976). Does this child need ecuation or socialization? Government policy has stressed education, while today there is a growing recognition of the need for socialization (Bell 1976).

The problem then becomes one of a variegated patchwork of services, serving the very neediest children, with the services themselves possessing a vague and often contradictory rationale for the type of service they are providing. It becomes necessary to look at the increased private and public demand for preschool services of the 1960's and 1970's, and what effect this has had on the quality and quantity of service. Specifically, how has this related to the needs and care of the underprivileged child, and to the under-five population in general? (Tizard 1976). Advocacy for preschool services must be contrasted with government response, the reasons for the response, and the type of funding and care ultimately provided. It again becomes necessary to look at what compensatory care, or care for all underpriviliged under-fives, means to the child's education and social needs, and to the family.

## II. Methodology

I spent eight weeks doing field work in the inner city of Leeds, West Yorkshire. My placement was at the Leeds Women's Aid Refuge for battered women. Three days a week, for between three and six hours, I went to the Refuge as a participant-observer for the group of under-fives who attend a daily playgroup in the Refuge's basement. The Refuge often has local volunteers and even their own staff come somewhat irregularly, so my acceptance into the Refuge was almost immediate, partially also due to the fact that many people had no idea exactly who I was (most thought I was in social work and here from the U.S. on a training course) and many did not care.

The Refuge playgroup runs roughly from 10a.m. - 1p.m. Monday through Firday and, when I came, on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays remained open until between 3:00-5:30p.m. I eventually found myself in the ideal position of being rather unnoticed, although any questions I had were promptly answered and usually at great length. Because the children I worked with became very attached to me, the mothers at the Refuge were always very happy to see me and always willing to talk. The trade-off in the situation was that it took the entire eight weeks to complete my "informal interviews," i.e., to get all my questions answered, and the process was slow and sometimes frustrating.

I enjoyed the Refuge very much, and I too was attached to the children. Initially, my emotional response to the plight of the battered woman and her child, and to the children themselves, made me very sympathetic and upset. Eventually these feelings subsided and my impressions and observations became much clearer and less emotional.

My placement at the Refuge was to observe a group which was not initially intended to cater to the under-five population with a preschool service, but in the end found itself with an overwhelming number of children and nowhere to send them, and thus began a playgroup. I recorded three types of observations: the execution of an urban area preschool playgroup, the social needs of these children, health, social and educational needs as they themselves expressed them, and community response to the need for preschool services.

During the last three weeks I also conducted interviews with the Department of Education, Social Services, the Preschool Playgroups Association, and an officer-in-charge of a day nursery, all located in Leeds. This was to assess the administrative perceptions of the types of care they were all providing, and to gauge the expectations for expansion. Because of the school holiday, the interviews with education administrators were easy to obtain, although the Social Services seemed much busier. In addition a visit was made to the National Women's Aid Federation office in London, where interviews with the national coordinators revealed to what extent the Refuges find themselves prioritizing for children's needs. I also visited the National Children's Centre in Huddersfield, which is undertaking research on working-class children in the care of child minders.

In retrospect, some important decisions I made were to cease taking notes during my observations, which subsequently left me much less nervous and made the children and my co-workers more relaxed. Also, by offering my services to the Refuge more or less on their terms (we were originally scheduled to do half-day placements on Thursday and Friday) I was able to learn much more, and was much more appreciated and hence given information.

## III. Analysis

### History

There has been slow acceptance of child care as a political issue, because children and the family have traditionally been a private issue (Running a Women's Liberation Playgroup 1975: 1). This has meant that child education and child care have existed erratically, rising at peak points of government funding and support and/or parent and public advocacy:

1855-1900. Nursery education existed for very young children, and it was strict, held with huge classes and an emphasis on the three

R's. The percentage of children in nursery education swings from 7.6% of the three-four-year-old age group in 1855 to 43.1% in 1900 (Tizard, Moss and Perry 1976: 61). The hope seems to be that the earlier children are instructed and disciplined, the better they will learn.

1900-1933. Facilities dramatically decline, until by 1931 only 13.1% of three and four-year-olds are in nursery education. This reflects educational policy and not parent demand (Tizard, Moss and Perry 1976: 62).

During this time, an investigation by the Board of Education in 1905 finds that nursery education provides no "profit intellectually." Although this is attributed to the type of schooling, no effort to reform it is made. The Board of Education subsequently says, in 1907, that it recognizes the need of some type of system of care. However, these years are preoccupied with expanding secondary education; there is no real parent or public advocacy for nursery education or care; and some question the suitability and type of provision for the very young child.

An upswing in the number of day nurseries began because of the war, and thus began the first major network of care for young children which was not education, instituted and supported by the government. It was during this period when nursery education itself took on a new meaning. Through the efforts of Margaret and Rachel Macmillan, and their campaign for nursery education, the first use of public funds for nursery schools began in 1918. But the intervention of Margaret Macmillan was originally on behalf of the health and welfare needs of children, not on educational grounds. The image of nursery schools for social and medical care removed it from the realm of education

(Whitbread 1972). This also put nursery education into a simpler category. It was easy enough to understand the need for this service for a "deprived child," but not for a child from a wealthy family. By 1933, the Consultative Committee Report by the Board of Education "drew attention to the role of nursery schools in promoting health, educating parents and providing opportunity for regular medical inspection" (Whitbread 1972). There is no mention of the child's educational needs.

1933-1950. By 1938, the number of nursery schools had grown to 118, and day nurseries to 104. The next year brought war and even greater increase in services: the government needed women in the work force and the health of the next generation became important enough, during war time, to warrant government care and regulation. World War II saw the birth of the Nursery Centres Scheme, staffed by volunteers and overseen by qualified teachers, funded by the treasury. This meant that nursery centers, nursery schools, day nurseries and voluntary schemes and creches were set up to fill a sudden and urgent need for the care of the young child. The 194 nurseries in England and Wales as of 1941 jumped to 1450 full time nurseries by 1944. All this provision was made without regard to children's social or educational needs -- allowing, of course, that children's social needs would be adversely affected had they been left alone all day while both parents worked or were at war. This trend was apparent in the 1946 National Health Services Act which advocated, under peacetime conditions, public policy should "positively discourage mothers of children under two from going out to work" and that nursery schools and centers for 2-5's should exist only on a part time basis, with day nurseries and child minders to meet special needs. Day nurseries were steadily closed throughout the fifties and sixties (Tizard 1976: 64-5).

The ideology of the period from 1950 to the present has been that, whenever possible, children should remain with their mothers, and older preschool children should be allowed attendance at part time nursery schools and centers. The full time care of children is left up to social need.

The issues of contemporary care for under-fives involve increasing provision of nursery schools and classes to any child, as stated in Margaret Thatcher's 1972 White Paper, "Education: A Framework for Expansion," which may reflect the government response of the 1800's, when nursery care was viewed as a way to producing a more literate and capable working class. The area of full time care has largely been left to children with social problems. Circular 37/68 describes these children as: children with one parent, children who need temporary care, mothers who are incapable of giving their children the care they need, where full time care would prohibit the breaking up of a family, and where the health or welfare of the child is jeopardized. This policy reflects the attitude which has been pervasive in the writing of John Bowlby, who intimates that children suffer greatly without their mothers, and that women should not be encouraged to work.

Government sponsored research and inquiries of 1960-1970 continued, with the over riding feeling being that preschool care was becoming increasingly too important to leave to the parents. The findings of the Plowden Report were the most influential research of this period and reflect policy today: the "principle of nursery education on demand" was established, but full day care was inadvisable and group care was not suitable for under three's. Plowden established the demand for nursery education (although on what basis is unclear) that: one-half of three's and 90% of four's would require part time nursery education, and 15% of three's and four's would require full day education (based on 5% working mothers and 10% mothers incapable of caring for child.) Even the educational expansion of nursery schools, because of the current financial situation in Britain, has not occured.

## Compensatory Education

One of the dangers of compensatory education is that too many hopes can be pinned on it; it can be seen by the public and the government as a panacea for the nation's ills and inequalities (Pringle and Naidoo 1975: 162). Nursery education has been offered as a compensation for "social failures, home lives, and problems of urban living and expansion" (Weber 1971). Compensatory education began as "social and moral rescue from the evils of a slum environment" and emphasized health and cleanliness (Whitbread 1972: 25). The rationale has been that the earlier one intervenes, the better. On what basis this assumption is made is not clear -- whether it is in the child's educational best interests (and it would seem that it is, as the child is offered nursery education) or the child's social interests. Plowden recommended the use of schools to compensate for social and economic inequalities. There then becomes the problem of defining what is being compensated for.

To begin with, there is no general understanding of what an underpriviliged child is. Basil Bernstein has defined disadvantaged almost always as working class. When 70% of the population of Britain is working class, and when you add the number of handicapped children and children with single parents, then practically all children are disadvantaged. Because no definition has been reached, disadvantaged children are supposedly those receiving full time care or special services. This is done without attention to the child's educational or social needs. The Preschool Advisor for the Department of Education in Leeds says:

> I'm worried about all this national interest in preschool education. They're concerned because they are worried about just how well the children do in school. They're not concerned about whether a child needs full or part time care, or about anything but turning out smarter children. I think the economic issues are secondary, really. I mean to say why would they be interested in children under five in the first place? They have to have some interest in it. To me, compensatory education isn't just education, it's socializing, too.

Compensatory education can have several aims. It can improve the health and nutritional aspects of a child's life, improve educational advantage by providing stimulation and companionship. But so far, the needs of the disadvantaged child have either been met by full time care, in which there is little educational exponent, or by compensatory nursery education. This results in fragmentation and no unified policy or reason for providing this type of care, and thus no assurance of continued funding, or continued interest in the care by the government.

Positive steps that compensatory care can make are in the areas of health and nutrition. The National Children's Bureau shows that children from underprivileged homes have more infections, hearing and speech difficulties and eat less protein (Bell 1976). Working parents are thought to be unaware of the educational and social advantages of talking to their children, of providing educational toys and materials like books and paints. Therefore the care itself can be important, but the rationale behind the care provides the basis for continuation. As the same Preschool Advisor told me, "All education, in some way, is compensatory. It isn't just meant to stop at the end of nursery school."

## Types of care

### Day Nurseries

Day nursery provision peaked in 1944, with a total of 1599 part- and full-time day nurseries with accommodation for 71,806 children. Full time placements in England in day nurseries as of March, 1975 by the Department of Health are estimated at 25,992. The perception of day nursery provision has been for the working mother, but in actuality the paucity of day nurseries means that only the worst "social problem" children can be accepted. There are an estimated five day nursery places to each 1,000 preschool age children.

In Leeds, the Social Services state that their "priority for taking children into care is a child who would otherwise be put out into care, away from the home." The day nursery is funded by the local authority, although a sliding scale fee is charged each child.

There are nine local authority day nurseries in Leeds. Burley Park Day Nursery is, according to a representative from Social Services, fairly typical of the other nurseries. It is a purpose-built building, with a capacity of fifty children. It can accommodate children from 0-5 years old. The staff:child ratio is 1:5; one nursery nurse for every five children. These children are arranged in family groups, of varying ages, who relate specifically to one nursery nurse. They eat together and do activities together, and generally act "like a family." As I recorded:

> Burley Park Day Nursery is a beautiful center. It is run on a low-cost budget, but the materials and resources of the center are rich. The walls are full of children's collages and drawings, and everything is very colorful and cheerful. The rooms each have small chairs and tables, and play space, books, activity space.

At these nurseries, says the officer-in-charge, "Now most of these children are from homes without sufficient stimulation. That includes, too, children from one parent families, mothers incapable of caring for their children, a few children referred on medical grounds." The children at the center all appear happy and she affirms that the children do not seem to suffer from being separated from their mothers, when they are in an environment such as this one.

The ideology behind the care in the center stems from the officer in charge's own ideology, "These children need socializing before they need educating. If they leave somewhat independent, able to button their coats, put their shoes on and mix socially, then we've done our job." At these centers, because of their scarcity and waiting lists, a representative from Social Services says that "Working mothers are not even a priority.'

Day nurseries provide full day care, 8-6 p.m., and charge from £1.50 to £32.50 (the actual cost of maintenance per child ).

## Nursery School

At one time nursery schools existed for those who could afford them. The estimate now is that 9.9% of all children receive nursery education on a full or part time basis (National Union of Teachers 1977: 3). In Leeds, there are about 2500 places, about 300 of which are full time, for nursery education - including nursery schools (3) and nursery classes or units (45) according to the Leeds Department of Education (Pringle and Naido 1975: 92):

> A system of priorities is often operated whereby most, but not all, maintained places are given to children who suffer some kind of social handicap. Mother's employment is not a reason for most admissions.

Although there are 260 primary schools in Leeds, only 45 nursery classes exist, and "due to the economic situation," says the Assistant Education Officer, in whose care is all nursery education, "expansion is not likely in the near future."

The Preschool Advisor to the Department of Education says that "Ideally, there should be somewhere for every child to go. If the mother wishes, of course. But you have to pay for social service care. Education is a free service." This has seemingly come to mean that since it is free, it should be given only to the very neediest children:

> We prioritize children much the same way that social services does. The unsupported parent, children in a highrise flat, the youngest of a large family, children of unemployed parents. Working mothers are our lowest priority.

Seemingly, then, educational decisions become economic ones. It is futile to hope that the target predictions for 1982 of nursery education and provision can be met, because of Britain's financial situation and "the cutbacks." Nursery education is seen in much the same light as the day nursery, however, in that its provision is for the selected, underpriviliged few, not even the disadvantaged many. We still have not realized the challenge set forth over ten years ago by Eirene White, MP, while addressing the Nursery School Association of 1964, "Nursery schooling is neither a luxury nor an act of social rescue. It is an important part of normal child education."

Playgroups

The playgroup movement began in 1961, largely in response to a government circular which praised the existence of nursery schools and classes but said there was no need for expansion. Parental response and coordination gave birth to the Preschool Playgroup movement (Lucas and McKennal 1974: 33). Playgroups, usually organized by mothers, have anywhere from four to sixty children, run for various hours on all weekdays, charging various fees. The Playgroup movement has been seen as largely middle class, as evidenced in the Penguin Book of Playgroups, which emphasizes the need for mother involvement, and for social meetings like One O'clock Clubs of mothers with children in playgroups, both being obviously unsatisfactory for working mothers. This same book threatens the mother with even the future mental growth problems of her child if she is not present during the preschool years.

A growing doubt about playgroups has come about through the recognition that playgroups reinforce the need for early child socialization, but not education (Whitbread 1972: 129). This means especially in deprived areas, playgroups lack the features of health and nutritional gains and educational experiences. Although the Playgroup movement calls for acknowledgement of playgroups not as "second rate" or "stopgap" but as something "unique in their own right," it is becoming increasingly apparent that funding playgroups gives the government a way of providing a service "on the cheap" (Lucas and McKennall 1974: 37). While being cheap, playgroups also are the quickest and most effective way of reaching a large number of children. Playgroups do not generally advocate accepting children under the age of two.

Child minding

Generally, it is not known how many children are looked after by child minders, because although child minders are required to register, many never do. Chiefly responsible for this is the fact that registration provides the child minder with nothing except the knowledge that she is inside the law, and restrictions to registration can be hassling and time consuming. The Department of Health, 1975, gave the child minding figure at 60,664 full time placements being filled, but no figure for the number of child minders. In Leeds, it is estimated that there are about 600 child minders, with 2-3 children each, mostly servicing the working mother, but costing a good deal more than day nurseries (depending on parental income day nurseries can cost as little as £1.50 a week; a child minders range from £1.50 per day.)

The National Children's Centre was developed to look at the development of working class children (specifically, why children fail), and the problem of child minding. The Centre espouses that:

> The number one ideal is for women to be encouraged to stay home with their families, with their babies. Child minding is a better form of service than day nurseries are...they are a necessary evil. A small child in a nursery cannot have close relationships.

The Center advocates government subsidies of child minders and insists this is the cheapest form of care. It is thus left up to institutions to care for children with special needs. Again, child minding makes no provision for adequate health and nutritional needs, or to meet the educational needs of the young child.

## Advocacy and the future

It is, according to the Education Officer in Leeds, an "acknowledged fact" that preschool education is desired. Education, however, has been unwilling to agree to meet the demands for service by an increasing number of families where both parents work outside the home.

> We draw a firm line between the needs of a child and the needs of a mother, working mothers are not a reason for preschool education (Assistant Education Officer, Leeds).
>
> The needs of families cannot be divorced from the care of children (Tizard, Moss and Perry 1976: 93).

This becomes a complicated issue. The needs of a young child are inextricably associated with the needs of the family (Van der Eyken 1974: 13). Therefore, education has seemingly been ignoring extremely important facets in a child's life by ignoring the home situation. Decisions of education departments, moreover, seem to be overwhelmingly based on financial needs, which does not support their contention of wanting only to cater to the educational needs of the young child. There is little psychological evidence to support the popular belief, echoed in Plowden, that a full day of nursery school is "too much." This opinion does not force the government into providing widespread care, and also is used as a ploy against the working mother. One basic question has never been answered, that is whether the education of a child should be child-centered, or family-centered. Is a teacher a supplement to the family, or is the family the supplement to education? (van der Eyken 1974: 15).

There is an increasing feeling that children in day nurseries need the educational benefits of nursery education, and this leads to the discussion of joint provision. Historically, provision for under five's has been at various times under the Health, Education and Social Services Departments. Very little communication or coordination has existed between the various agencies.

Some trial joint programs between the Department of Health and Social Security and the Department of Education have been sponsored under the Urban Aid Programme. These include combined day nursery and nursery school units. The National Campaign for Nursery Education, an advocacy group which began in 1969, is asking for joint efforts between all educational bodies. The National Children's Bureau attempts to coordinate all those with a professional interest in young children, from researchers to hospital workers, but their policy power is limited.

In Leeds, monthly meetings occur between the Education and Social Service Departments. Some joint planning occurs, but there is very little in the way of joint services. It has only been in the 1970's that the cry for lengthened and various services has been heard. It is increasingly felt that "compensatory care must be a joint provision." As Pringle and Naidoo (1975: 164) ask:

> Are there then any theoretical or practical justifications for quite separate and different types of preschool care and education? If the basic aim is to foster optimal, all-around development; if every existing type of provision has some advantage as well as disadvantage; if the children and their families are not stable but likely to change, both accidentally and intentionally; if categorizing children according to home background, economic need, ability or other criteria is socially divisive and educationally unwarranted at this early age; if easy access to services ensures readier uptake...then all the advantages would seem to lie with setting up multi purpose preschool centers on a neighborhood basis, which aim to provide both care and education.

This philosophy seems to be the direction of the 1970's. Increased concern with providing adequate, quality care for the basic health and nutritional needs of children, and educational stimulation for all children, is increasing along with the demand for more placements. Both education and social service administrators agree, as exemplified by the comments of a Preschool Advisor from Leeds:

> All services serve different needs. Social services, with their day nurseries, do take on an educational, stimulating, caring role. Education, with nursery schools and classes, provides supplementary and complimentary care to the care children receive at home. Full time care is left up to social services, which may be just as well as we are geared toward the whole family, and education is just geared toward the child.
>
> In a democracy there should be a whole range of services for children to choose from. This includes full day care, residential care, nursery schools and classes and child minders of the highest quality, and playgroups. Even educational needs must be secondary to the needs of the whole child.

Expansion of services is questionable in the future. At a Community Child Care Conference in London, July 9, 1977, it was noted that while provisions of child care are neediest in some urban areas, particularly poorer areas, parents have very little time for organizing or participating in child care advocacy. The Leeds Education Officer acknowledges that the most vocal sector of the city is the middle class one, for nursery education, but that it has tried to put more provision in the inner city and deprived areas.

Expansion of compensatory services is even more problematic. First, no operationalization of the terms deprived, underpriviliged, or disadvantaged have been made. General priority categories are used by both social services and the department of education; yet while their categories are similar, their services are very different and there is no apparent prioritizing for which children need which services. The existing services appear to be very good -- in that they are well staffed, clean, well equipped. Particularly the day nursery meets the health and nutrition needs of children from homes with inadequate diets and inadequate medical treatment. But a comprehensive policy for the care of a child from deprived, disadvantaged, underpriviliged or normal backgrounds is far from a reality. Some priority categories of children include:

> Children in a poor housing situation, children with a single parent, children from families with low incomes, children from large families, single child, children in highrise flats or remote suburban housing, children with medical problems or handicapping conditions, a family where no care of the child would result in the breaking up of the family, a battered child, a child whose social and health welfare is jeopardized by his home.

These categories are sufficiently vague and general, so that the child who does find a nursery school or day nursery placement is "the lucky one," according to the Social Services department in Leeds. No child in a "high risk" situation is ever refused, but this means that nurseries become overcrowded with social problems and one officer in charge of a day nursery observes that this is "overly hard on the staff; and probably not a very good environment for the children."

There have been some recommendations about preschool care, but this is academic and in no way suggests methods of making the government responsive at times other than when it is economically or socially beneficial for it to do so, as the historical evidence suggests. Part of the blame, however, lies on and with the existing contradictory information about preschool services and care. Also the government has been willing to give loans to local authorities, and for 1975-76, 36 areas took no nursery allocations, and 19 relinquished all, with 11 relinquishing 50%. Local authorities do not think that taking these loans - which of course must be paid back - are a good reason for raising the rates. So pressure has not been brought to bear on local authorities for preschool needs. Joint provision between the departments concerned with child care can lead to a better understanding of the social and educational needs of the child from 0-5 years old, along with parent education about the benefits of such care. In deprived areas, care which is administered by local residents is not always satisfactory and the training of those providing preschool services must be adequate to meet the needs of that area. (The following discussion on the playgroup at the Leeds Refuge will show how that is not being done.) Government subsidy of child minders and playgroups does suggest the willingness to fill in services with as little monies as possible, and it has also been suggested that child minders do not want pay. "You ask them; they'll say they want to take the children they choose to, not the ones we would recommend if they were funded by local authorities" (Social Services, Leeds). The problem of working mothers will continue to plague the social services and the departments of education; it is unfortunate that a history of women who were defined by their home making and child caring roles will continue to be used as a reason for not providing services for the very young child. Education and social service departments do not, in fact, look at the needs of the "whole child" when they disregard such things as working parents.

## Leeds Women's Refuge/Playgroup

The National Women's Aid Federation was established in 1975 with 40 affiliated groups through Britain. There are now 101 Women's Aid groups in England and Wales, 83 of which have Refuges. The Refuges were begun because the problem of wife battering was not accepted as a violent crime by the public, the press or by the courts. Thus these houses, like the one in Leeds, take women and usually their children, who claim they have been psychologically or physically battered by their husbands. Local authorities have been unwilling to fund such Refuges, and view them more as a nuisance than a help, although social services frequently refer women to Women's Aid (Pizzey 1974: 95).

When the National Women's Aid Federation adopted its five aims, the third was: "to recognize and care for the emotional and educational needs of the children involved." And this number of children is not small; estimates are there are 1,000 women and children in Refuges at any one time. During the year April 1976 - April 1977, a total of 318 women contacted the Leeds Refuge. Of these, 81 women with a total of 231 children stayed at the Refuge for at least one week. An average length of stay for about half of the residents is eight months, the average wait for new housing. The children come partially because, as echoed in interviews with Leeds Social Service and Department of Education administrators, it has been a tradition to keep children out of care at all costs, and to leave them with their mothers.

In Leeds, the older children are sent to a local school, and the younger under-fives are cared for in a Playgroup, run in the mornings by a paid Playgroup leader and by volunteers. As I wrote in my journal:

> The house schedule is irregular. The Playgroup begins when the kids get up and the Playgroup leader, Joanna, arrives. Today there were 23 children; this number fluctuates from six to thirty, depending on who decides to come.

The Playgroup is run in the cellar, where two rooms have been roughly repainted, and furnished with toys, a few books, paints and papers. While the facility could be put to good use, most of the time it is in a shambles, and the children play without much supervision, and without many rules or direction.

> In the front playroom, children's drawings plastered the walls. Some of them had names on them. During the morning I asked the children if her or his drawings were hung up. The children would look blankly at the walls and reply, "No."
>
> The first thing the kids did when we unlocked the door was to run for a tub of water. They splashed, dumped, poured. Mostly they did not communicate with each other, but grabbed toys and splashed each other.
>
> While Rosie, a volunteer, and I had been talking, the children had slowly disappeared. "I suppose we should go fish them down," Rosie said. "We've been talking and they've gotten very bored." However, she was not sorry or regretful, just cheerily stating a fact.
>
> When the kids paint, it is usually just mess. The paint cups are crusted with paint and the only color we can usually get is black. Today they dripped it over the paper, the easels and the floor and then started flicking the paint from their brushes on everybody.
>
> Just as we completed our puzzle, Colin ran in and dumped the pieces on the floor. Elizabeth just watched him. Jo told him to pick them up "or I'll send you upstairs!" He refused, and ran away, and she didn't carry through on her threat.

The morning was usually one of unstructured anything, mostly the children running around, playing where and with what they wanted to.

Adult interaction with the children was minimal, as was verbal interaction, so important especially for under-fives.

> Mostly the interaction of adults and children is "Don't," "Stop it". Occasionally Jo will make conversation about something with the children but they don't pay attention.

And the children's intellectual curiosity is not stimulated:

> I had noticed Tina before. She was very quiet, edging away from adults, and rarely came to the Playgroup, and her mother liked to punch and kick her "in fun." She and Emma were playing with an old playpen and I watched them out of the corner of my eye. She could not get all 4 pieces to stand up, and finally Tina looked at all four sides carefully, fingering them. She finally stood one up. "No nail," she said simply, pushing the other 3 sides in place. She showed that same strange command, for a four-year-old, of intricate workings later than morning with the hinges on a gate in front of the fireplace.

The children are not encouraged or praised, and rarely is it quiet enough for a song or a story. Joanna, at nineteen, has not had any previous experience with children and says, "God, yes I wish there were more nurseries! Can you imagine, bringing these kids here and then to a Playgroup? Half the time they won't stay, half the time they want their Mums." At our Playgroup, mother involvement never happened. The mothers wandered in from time to time, but never participated in our games or our play. Several times, when I was talking, reading or playing with a child, the mother would say, "Don't bother her too much," to the child. Their interaction with the children, as I observed, was limited to perfunctory requests and demands.

"I guess alot of us feel guilty, bringing our kids here," one mother confided to me. That guilt is shown in the health and nutrition concerns about the children, which are minimal. All morning the children wander in and out with candy and chips. At snack time the Playgroup provides milk and biscuits.

> We give the children milk and biscuits, even though Elizabeth is eating biscuits her mother has just given her and Asa has a packet of sweets. "We used to give them nuts and raisins, but that got too expensive," Rosie said.
>
> Elizabeth opened her mouth. "That's my sore tooth," she showed me.
>
> As we were eating our snack Moira came in with chips for Elizabeth. "Is it lunchtime?" a volunteer asked. "I just feed her when she's hungry and I know she'll eat chips," her mother replied.
>
> Four of the children got little bags of sweets their mothers got at the shops today. Gizella said, "We get these every day," and several others agreed.

Although I observed over a period of eight weeks, there was no noticeable difference in any child from the Playgroup; i.e., several who had arrived when I had could still not even distinguish colors or numbers. The other volunteers do not pick up on these natural learning times, alhtough the children were very receptive when I did. The mothers seemed to regard fantasy as something silly - although no attempt was made to separate fact from fantasy in the children's lives.

> Colin and Elizabeth like the game best at the park when I sit on a swing between them and swing us together. "Look, Elizabeth's got red pants on, I've got a red shirt on and Colin's got a red coat on! We're alike," I say. Colin and Elizabeth look, interested. "We are!" they both say enthusiastically, and Colin picks up on the game, "Asa over there has a red coat too."
>
> The children aren't being helped to differentiate reality and make believe. During a house waterfight today, where the mothers were pushed out the door and sprayed with the hose, all in fun, the children went into hysterics. Sue looked at them in amazement, "They're freaking," she said softly, watching Emma,

> dancing in anger on the floor, tears streaming down her face, screaming hysterically. It was not a fear that was comforted when the nearest woman picked up the child and held her.
>
> While we color, I ask the children about the colors. I have never heard another volunteer do that. Elizabeth calls everything orange; at five, cannot distinguish between blue, orange, yellow and red.
>
> One of the girls holds up her two arms to me. "I have 'free hands," she says, meaning "three." "No, you have two -- one, two," I count them, thinking she is teasing and she insists, "No, 'free."
>
> One afternoon when most of the kids were gone, Wayne, Elizabeth and I went into the quiet playroom and got out a big puzzle we'd done earlier. With the din and movement of this morning, they hadn't been interested in learning the names of the vegatables on the three-foot puzzle. Now, they listened to all the names through twice, and repeated them after me.
>
> When they are on the swings, I number them. "Who has Number Three swing?" I call. They ignore me a few times, but I, unlike Jo and Rosie, am insistent, and finally they catch on and play with me.

The most obvious characteristic these children exhibit is their familiarity with deprivation and their unfamiliarity with praise, limits or compassion.

> I wonder what values are being reinforced in these kids. They live so sheltered, shying away from verbal or physical interaction except of a loving nature, unable to express either pride or doubt in themselves. They try to "store up" their possessions as if to protect themselves and insulate themselves. Playgroup, and their involvement with it, exists solely on their terms.
>
> A big fight for the crayons ensued as soon as I put them out on the table. "Them's mine!" cried the children, even when I tried to show them they could only use one color at a time, or when I tried to get them to choose a favorite color, they simply grabbed and held handfuls of crayons.

> Nobody but me gives the children positive reinforcement. The children react to me ("Well done," "That's a good job of pushing, Elizabeth," "Asa, I saw you give her that. Thank you ") with a slightly quizzical look, but often they repeat the behavior -- sharing, helping -- to see if I repeat my praise.
>
> When I showed them my camera, I expected them to grab and finger it. They just sat, quietly, and watched. They took what I gave them to look at, passively, as if used to knowing they couldn't be allowed to play with it.
>
> During London Bridge, Michelle and I "caught" a child at the appropriate time. I was surprised nobody tried to be "it" as I've seen a lot of children do.

One of the children at the Refuge has been accepted in a day nursery up the street. Almost daily two or three of the little ones will beg me to "take them to the nursery!" During a carnival put on by the neighborhood, Refuge children joined the games eagerly, as if thriving on the planned games and activities and attentive adults.

## Conclusion

The Refuge in Leeds is atypical of most Refuges in that it has a Playgroup. What that Playgroup serves to do is entertain children for maybe an hour, maybe a few minutes, on the days the children choose to come downstairs. No attempt is made at any stimulating educational instruction, even with colors or numbers, or in increasing the children's self confidence with praise and verbal interchanges. The health and nutritional needs of the children are going unmet, largely because the health visitor cannot visit all the children who live in the house (ranging from ten to thirty women, and from six to eighty children at one peak time). Although both on a local and national level, the Refuge and Women's Aid attempts to care for its charges, it is a microcism of the children who are not receiving adequate nursery provision; and it is these children who could benefit from a combined socializing/educating experience.

## References

Inter-Action Advisory Service Handbook
1975 Battered Women and the Law. London: Inter-Action Imprint.

Bell, Lorna
1976 Underpriviliged Underfives. London: Ward Lock Educational.

National Educational Research and Development Trust
1977 "Childminding: Action Register Three." Cambridge.

1977 "The National Children's Centre: Two Year On." Cambridge.

Children's Community Centre
1974 "Children's Community Centre: Our Experience of Collective Child Care." London.

Coote, Anna and Tess Gill
1977 Battered Women and the New Law. Inter-Action Imprint: London.

______
1974 Women's Rights: A Practical Guide. Harmondworth, England: Penguin Books.

Fonda, Nickie and Peter Moss
1976 Mothers in Employment. Middlesex England: Brunnel University Management Programme.

Gill, Tess.
1975 Battered Women: How To Use the Law. Golden Trust Pamphlet.

Holman, Robert
1976 Inequality in Child Care. London: Poverty Pamphlet No. 26. Child Poverty Action Group.

Kitwood, Tom and Marie Macey
1977 Mind That Child. London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative.

Lucas, Joyce and Vivienne McKennall
1974 The Penguin Book of Playgroups. England: Penguin Books.

Manchester Women's Handbooks Book 1, Social Security, Book 2,
1977 Getting Your Own Home. Manchester: Mosside Community Press.

Manpower Services Commission
1977 "Young People and Work: Report on the Feasibility of a New Program of Opportunities for Unemployed Young People," May.

______
1977 "Job Creation Guide for Potential Sponsors.

Miller, Nick
1975 Battered Spouses. Occasional Papers on Social Administration No. 57. England: Willmer Brother.

National Union of Teachers
1977 "Nursery Education - the right start." Fightback Series No. 2. London: Twentieth Century Press.

National Women's Aid Federation,
1977 Battered Women Need Refuges. A Report from the National Women's Aid Federation. London.

________
1977 Battered Women Need Refuges: A Kit for New Groups. London.

________
1977 And Still You've Done Nothing: Battered Women are Homeless. London.

Petherbridge, John
1977 "Children in Distress: Report on what schools are doing to meet the needs of the children of battered women." The Times Educational Supplement: Friday, July 22, 1977, No. 3242, p. 15.

Pizzey, Erin
1974 Scream Quietly or the Neighbours Will Hear. London: Penguin Books.

Leeds Other Paper
1977 "Playgroups Face Axe," June 24-July 8.

Pringle, Mia Kellmer and Sandhya Naidoo
1975 Early Child Care in Britain. London: Grodon and Breach.

Renvoize, Jean
1974 Children in Danger: The Causes and Prevention of Baby Battering. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

________
1975 "Running a Women's Liberation Playgroup: Out of the Pumpkin Shell", Birmingham.

Sjolund, Arne
1973 Daycare Institutions and Children's Development. England: Saxon House.

Stroud, Jean
1973 Services for Children and their Families. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Tizard, Jack, Peter Moss and Jane Perry
1976 All Our Children: Pre School Services in a Changing Society. Great Britain: Maurice Temple Smith Ltd.

Tracey, Richard
1974 Battered Wives. Bow Group, England.

van der Eyken, Willem
1974 The Pre School Years. England: Penguin Books.

Wallace, Walter L.
1969 Sociological Theory. London: Heineman.

Warrior, Betsy
1975 "Battered Lives," The Second Wave: A Magazine of the New Feminism. Vol. 4, No. 2. U.S.A.: Second Wave.

Wedge, Peter and Hillary Prosser
1973 Born to Fail? London: Arrow Books.

Weber, Lillian
1971 The English Infant School and Informal Education. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Whitbread, Nanette
1972 The Evolution of the Nursery Infant School. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Widlake, P. and Bell, L.
1973 The Education of the Socially Handicapped Child.